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## Selections.

### *LETTER FROM JUDGE JAY.*

THE NORTHERN CONVENTION.

BEDFORD (N. Y.), Sept. 24, 1857.

GENTLEMEN: I have been favoured with your letter, inviting me to add my name to a Call for a Convention of citizens of the free States, "to consider the practicability, probability and expediency of a separation between the Free and Slave States."

The subject you propose for consideration has long been to me one of deep and painful interest. Although fully aware of the many social, commercial and political advantages resulting from the Federal Union, I am nevertheless convinced that it is at present a most grievous moral curse to the American people. To the people of the South it is a curse, by fostering, strengthening and extending an iniquitous and baneful institutuion. To the millions among us of African descent it is a curse, by riveting the chains of the bondman and deepening the degradation of the freeman. To the people of the Free States it is a curse, by tempting them to trample under foot the obligations of truth, justice and humanity, for those wages of iniquity with which the Federal Government so abundantly rewards apostates to liberty and righteousness.

In my opinion, while the Union continues to be thus a curse, it will be indissoluble; and that should it ever cease to be a curse, it will be a blessing. Allow me to trespass a little upon your patience in explaining the grounds of this opinion.

An aristocracy, few in numbers, and scattered over an immense region, but from common interest acting as a unit—an aristocracy not of birth, nor of education, but solely of wealth in land and in the bodies and souls of men—now governs with insolent and arbitrary sway twenty-five millions of people. This united aristocracy, acting in concert with almost any political party at the North, can wield the vast and increasing patronage of the General Government. Northern Democrats have deemed it expedient to form with these lords of the lash a most intimate and submissive alliance; and, scorning and repudiating the sentiments of Jefferson on human rights, these pretended friends of liberty and equality are now the humble and willing instruments of a crushing and loathsome despotism. The seductions of the Federal Government, proffered through the friends of slavery, have converted the Northern Democracy into a stupendous organized LIE; a party with liberty ever on its lips, and human bondage in its heart—a party always ready at the bidding of its patrons to sacrifice liberty of speech, of the press, of legislative debate, of petition, and even of the pulpit itself, on the altar of the Southern Moloch. Discarding alike the deductions of reason and the monitions of conscience, this party adopts, with the unhesitating faith of a votary of an infallible Church, every doctrine, whether constitutional or political, which it may be the policy of the slaveholders to propound. Now, surely, it is not to be expected that a party that lives and moves and has its being in its union with slaveholders will aid you in dissolving that Union.

The slaveholders, in concert with their Northern allies, have established the trade of UNION-SAVING, a trade exceedingly convenient to each party concerned. Whenever a new aggression is to be made on the rights of the North, or a new outrage on humanity to be perpetrated, awful threats are fulminated from the South, that the Union shall expire in blood, unless the North will accede to the new demand. Instantly the Union-savers begin their work. They warn the people of their dependence on the South, and of the horrors of the impending civil war, and they insist on the reasonableness of the new claims. A panic is soon manufactured. Politicians become uneasy about the next election; the merchants are fearful lest grass will grow in our streets, if not trodden by Southern customers; and our cotton parsons pray and preach about the preservation of the Union, and the peace of the Church. The result of the continuance is a virtual submission to the mandates of the slaveholders, under the term of a COMPROMISE; the Union is saved for awhile, and the farce ends with paying some of the savers and leaving more to look for their reward the next time.

The Democratic party, although wholly consecrated to slavery, does not embrace all the pro-slavery of the North. In every party there are individuals who occasionally deem it prudent to bow down before the dark Idol. In general, the homage of all but Democrats is distrusted, is coldly received, and but poorly rewarded. Still, adventurers from all parties are continually investing capital in the Union-saving trade. The painful experience of Mr. Webster seems to have proved an unheeded lesson. His audacious plea for throwing open the new territories to slavery, that "The law of the formation of the earth settles forever, with a strength beyond all terms of human enactment, that slavery cannot exist in California and New Mexico," was received by those for whose favour he sacrificed himself with silent contempt; while even Southern jurists revolted from his hideous doctrine, that the rescue of a fugitive slave from the custody of an officer, by unarmed men, was *a levying of war against the United States*, an act of high treason, to be punished with death!

A late occurrence in Boston may satisfy you that while so many Northern men are willing to pay obsequious court to slaveholders, however personally odious, there can be little disposition at the North to part the chain which binds it to the slave region.

In June last was celebrated the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, connected with the "inauguration" of a statue to Warren. Wonderful as it may seem, pains were taken to make this celebration a demonstration of respect for human bondage, and of insult to the champions of human rights. The notorious James M. Mason received, as he himself asserted, a "gracious invitation" from the "Gentlemen of the Bunker Hill Association" to witness the spectacle. A distinguished gentleman of Boston, not professing to be a Democrat, addressed the assembly, telling them, "The State of Virginia is represented here to-day by a Senator in Congress, whom it has been my *privilege* to know personally in a sphere of common duty, whose name has been noted for more than one generation for services in State and National councils, and whom I take pleasure in *welcoming* here on his first visit to New England soil"; and the Virginian, we are told by the papers, was "received with loud applause."

That the full significance of the "gracious invitation," the complimentary introduction, and the applause of the crowd may be understood, it must be recollected that all this incense was offered to the author of the *Fugitive Act*, that accursed outrage on the rules of evidence and the precepts of justice and humanity; of that act which was most justly stigmatized by an eminent English jurist (Dr. Lushington) as "a measure as cruel and unchristian as ever disgraced any country." This vile statute Boston gentlemen of "property and standing" had enforced by municipal and military power; they had permitted the very door of their court-house, in which was detained a fugitive slave, to be fenced with chains, so that their judges, on entering the temple of justice, were required to do obeisance to that power which tramples on all justice, by stooping beneath the emblems of its tyranny.

But James M. Mason had higher claims to the sympathies of a certain class than his authorship of the Fugitive Act. The Legislature of Massachusetts had resolved that "We have received with deep concern information of the recent violent assault committed in the Senate Chamber at Washington upon the person of the Hon. Charles Sumner, one of our representatives in Congress, by Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House of Representatives, in Congress, from South Carolina; an assault which no provocation could justify—a gross breach of parliamentary privilege—a ruthless attack upon the liberty of speech—an outrage on the decencies of civilized life—and an indignity to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"Resolved, That we approve of Mr. Sumner's earnest and fearless declaration of free principles, and his manly defence of human rights and free territory."

This language of the Legislature respecting the Southern ruffian was, of course, distasteful to the slaveholders, while the commendation bestowed on Sumner was necessarily felt by many in Boston as a rebuke of their own conduct. It might be for the commercial advantage of Boston to conciliate the South, and not a few would be glad to insult Sumner and the friends of human freedom. Brooks had been removed beyond a "gracious invitation," but his eulogist still lived. True, that eulogist was a disunionist in profession, but then a desire to dissolve the Union involves no moral treason and incurs no reproach in a *slaveholder*. In a letter to Brooks's constituents, Mason declared, "I know of none whose public career I hold more worthy of the free and cordial approbation of his constituents than his. He has shown himself alike able and prompt to sustain the rights and sentiments of his constituents in debate and by vote, or to *vindicate in a different mode*, and under circumstances of painful DUTY, the honour of his friend." In reference to the then pending election, he intimated that in case Fremont should be chosen President, "but one course remained for the South—IMMEDIATE, ABSOLUTE, ETERNAL SEPARATION."

Such was the man whom Boston gentlemen deemed proper to honour; such was the man who on BUNKER HILL was received with applause!—applause which glorified the Fugitive Act, justified the outrage on Sumner, rebuked the Legislature of Massachusetts for its regard for human rights, and breathed the aspiration, "Union and Slavery, now and forever." Boston has indeed no monopoly of FLUNKEYISM, but she has contrived to give it a depth and an intensity rarely surpassed by the most ingenious servility. And think you, gentlemen, that men who thus prostrate themselves before the Slave Power will, from the love of liberty, aid you in rescuing the North from its degrading domination?

If we turn to the American Church, a mournful scene meets our view. The fine gold has become dim—the salt has lost its savour. The Church whose office it is to distribute the bread of life is scattering among the people the apples of Sodom. The great struggle of the Southern portion of the Church is at present to array "the sum of all villanies" in the garments of Christianity, and to teach for doctrines the abominations of the slave code. Thank God, some of these pro-slavery Churches have severed their connection with their Northern sisters. The absence of Reverend and Right Reverend slave-breeders and traders from our Church councils will tend to save those councils in future from much temptation and from much guilt.

The Northern Church is, with rare exceptions, pursuing, in regard to slavery, a time-serving, man-pleasing policy, probably still more offensive to God than that of our pro-slavery politicians. The larger portion of our clergy, like the Priest and Levite rebuked by our Lord, pass by on the other side, evincing neither sympathy for their wounded brother, nor indignation against his assailants; while others pass over to the thieves, bless them in the name of the Lord, and aid in robbing their helpless victim. Of all our Northern Churches, the Methodist has afforded the most striking and painful illustration of the corrupting influence of political and ecclesiastical union with slaveholders. The hypocrisy of this Church is melancholy and astounding. Founded as an anti-slavery Church, and recording in its standards the most express condemnation of slavery as sinful, it became the unscrupulous tool of the slaveholders. In 1836, the General Conference, alarmed by the awakening conscience of the North, and anxious to screen the Church from the odium which was then attached to the utterance of anti-slavery sentiments, voted that it was "decidedly opposed to *modern* abolition." How far the modern abolition which they opposed differed from the ancient abolition of the fathers and standards of the Church, it did not suit their purpose to explain. Said John Wesley "I strike at the root of this complicated villany. I absolutely deny all slaveholding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice. Men-buyers are exactly on a level with men stealers." Said Dr. Coke—"The buying of men is complicated crime." Said Bishop Asbury—"O Lord, banish the infernal spirit of slavery from thy dear Zion!" Said Dr. Adam Clarke—"In heathen countries, slavery was in some sort excusable, but among Christians, it is an enormity and a crime for which perdition has scarcely an adequate state of punishment." In 1780, the Church voted that it acknowledged that "slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man and nature, contrary to the dictates of conscience and true religion." In 1785, the Conference declared, "We do hold in the deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery"; and in 1836, when this condemnation of *modern* abolitionism was fulminated, their book of discipline most untruly affirmed, "We declare that we are *as much as ever* convinced of the great evil of slavery." The word "modern" was a fraudulent but transparent veil, intended to hide, if possible, the hypocrisy of those who used it. The resolution was demanded to satisfy the vast number of Methodist slaveholders and traders, and avowed pro-slavery Methodist ministers. The Georgia Conference boldly threw aside the mask, and with unblushing front voted that "Slavery as it exists in the United States is *not* a moral evil."

The New York Conference of 1836 virtually degraded from the ministry the fathers of the Methodist Church by resolving, "None ought to be elected to the office of a Deacon or Elder in our Church, unless he gives a PLEDGE to the Conference that he will refrain from agitating the Church with discussions on this subject" (abolition). Imagine John Wesley asked for a pledge, as a condition of ordination, that he would never preach against a certain popular sin! Sooner would he have gone to the stake, than thus betray his Lord and Master. Did any Church ever before bestow ordination on terms so iniquitous, so utterly at variance with the duty of the Christian ministry, so audaciously defiant of the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ?

"A man with a black skin," said John Wesley, "being wronged or outraged by a white man, can have no redress; it being a law in all our colonies that the oath of a black against a white goes for nothing. What villany is this!" Little did the father of Methodism think, when writing this sentence, that this same villany would be freely and gratuitously perpetrated by a body of Methodist ministers professing great respect for him, and pretending to hold his sentiments on the subject of slavery! The General Conference of 1840 resolved, "That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for ANY PREACHER to permit coloured persons to give testimony against white persons, in any State where they are denied that privilege by law." In no State did the law recognise these Church courts held by Methodist preachers, nor attempt to define what persons might be admitted as witnesses; nor did the jurisiciction of these courts extend beyond controversies about Methodist doctrine and discipline. Every minister had full legal authority to admit what witnesses he pleased. Yet to give the villany of the slave code the sanction of ecclesiastical example, these Methodist ministers, deliberately, and of their own free will, determine that in the slave States, no man, bond or free, clergyman, or layman, whom God Almighty had given a dark complexion, should be permitted to testify in their Church courts, where a *white* man was a party. The testimony of their own converts, of their own communicants, was to be set aside as unworthy of credit, on account of the tincture of their skin! By this rule, moreover, the Southern preachers gave themselves the privilege of committing, with impunity from all Church censure, any immorality, provided there were none but "coloured people to witness their misdeeds. Surely, it is a cause of thankfulness, that those who seduced and bullied our Northern Methodists into all this wickedness have since withdrawn from the Conference, and formed a Church by themselves, in which, without rebuke, they can enjoy the luxury of despotic authority over the poor and helpless. I have referred to this melancholy and humiliating history to show the demoralizing influence, even over Christian ministers, of ecclesiastical union with slaveholders. But alas! the political union still existing is nearly as disastrous to our Churches. It is to this union that we must attribute the unhappy position of the American Tract Society, and the false statements and jesuitical arguments by which those who control it either deceive themselves or try to deceive the public. Driven from the absurd pretence, that they were constitutionally restrained from rebuking the sins of evangelical slave-breeders and traders, while at full liberty to censure evangelical smokers and dancers and novel readers, they now discover that to offend the slaveholders will lessen the circulation of their tracts and curtail their receipts, and therefore they must do evil and tacitly countenance sin, for the glory of God and the salvation of souls! So also, from the same holy motives, as we may infer, this same Society, year after year, submits all its publications to the absolute and irresponsible censorship of a champion and eulogist of American slavery, and an unblushing apologist of its multiplied abominations.

Again, then, I ask you, gentlemen, what possible reason have you to expect that those in Church and State who have surrendered their consciences to the seductions of the Union will listen to your Call, and aid you in breaking a power which they glory in saving? While I believe you are doomed to disappointment, I nevertheless rejoice in every exposure of the immoral influence exerted by the Union. I rejoice in such exposure as tending, not to bring about dissolution, but to render it unnecessary. When the people of the North shall cease to idolize the Union, they will cease to offer on its altar their rights and their duties; when released from their self-imposed thraldom to the Slave Power, they will cease to place its minions in office; when no longer covetous of the trade and the votes of the South, they will no longer be bullied into all manner of wickedness, and into submission to all manner of insult, by the idle and and ever-repeated threats of dissolution. But when this day arrives, the Union will be converted from a curse into a blessing. Our lower-law divines, instead of vindicating cruelty and oppression, and denouncing as fanatics all who esteem the will of God a higher law than an accursed act of Congress, will become preachers of righteousness. Democrats, seeing the Federal patronage wielded by the friends of liberty and the rights of man, will, in the extent and rapidity of their conversion to truth and justice, eclipse all the marvels of New England revivals; and men who have for long years been bowed to the earth by spinal weakness will, as by miracle, stand erect. Till all these things come to pass, the North, I am persuaded, will continue its union with the South; and when they do come to pass, you, gentlemen, will have no wish to see that Union severed.

At the close of the war, Washington, solicitous that the divine favour might rest with the new-born Republic, publicly offered the prayer that God would "dispose us all to do justice and to love mercy." May the Union, when exerting an influence in accordance with this prayer, be indissoluble; but God forbid that it may ever be saved by promoting, extending and perpetuating injustice and cruelty, by invoking the wrath of Heaven, and becoming a proverb and a reproach among the nations of the earth! I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant, WILLIAM JAY.

Messrs. Higginson, Phillips, Mann and Garrison.

### *REV. GEORGE ARMSTRONG, OF BRISTOL, ENGLAND.*

CINCINNATI, Sept. 22, 1857.

THE recent death of the above-named distinguished minister will make the subjoined extracts from a letter, received by the writer, of deep and mournful interest. The letter was written June 20, and must therefore have been one of the last ever written by him, as the news of his death came, I believe, by the very next steamer. Mr. Armstrong was an old and long-tried friend of freedom in his own and this country, and these brief extracts show what interests were nearest when all were growing dim.

M. D. C.

"I have watched them (the anti-slavery men in America) in their ever-faithful conflicts with the foul spirit of their age, and cannot sufficiently marvel that such eloquence, energy and heartiness should fail in carrying with them all that was rational and sound in any civilized community—much more in a Society such as the Unitarian, trained in the discipline of obloquy, versed in the weapons of the intellect, and professors and propagandists of the purest form of the precious faith of Christ. Surely 'God moves in a mysterious way' or this could not be! But the finite can but faintly conceive of the Infinite; and, judging from the analogies of external nature, cycles of *time* would seem to be as nothing in the Divine contemplation. Yet one cannot easily, even with the utmost stretch of these pious expedients, imagine a Providence of wisdom and love ordaining successive generations of intelligent creatures to pass away under the harrow of such dreadful affliction, suffering and degradation as befall the African race, and chiefly at the hands of the foremost and most civilized portion of the human race, the Anglo-Saxon. But these dark speculations aside, how one's heart is stunned and one's hope almost quenched, at beholding a brother, whom we should otherwise regard and honour as a fellow-labourer in the vineyard, lending himself, under some infatuation of head or heart, to do not Christ's, but the devil's work, and playing into the hands of the enemies of the human race! . . . . .

"But it may be that as the horizon is darkest, the light is nearest, and, old as I am, even I cannot despair. But, for God's sake, no *half courses*, which only prove *whole curses!* for have not the compromises of the fathers of the Revolution so turned out?

"Give my love to Samuel May, and my most honouring remembrance to Mr. Garrison, when you have opportunity. Mr. Wendell Phillips I know not personally, but in spirit and power I regard him as one of the noblest of God's creatures. Yours ever, faithfully,

—*Christian Inquirer.* "GEORGE ARMSTRONG."

### *THE TENNESSEE NEGRO-TORTURER.*

REV. MR. SAWYER'S REPLY TO THE LETTER OF COL. NETHERLAND.

*To the Editor of The New York Times.*

MR. EDITOR: The Statement of Col. Netherland in the *Presbyterian Witness*, bearing date Sept. 15, which was transferred to your paper, has just attracted my attention, and it seems proper, under the circumstances, that, in noticing it, I should claim some space in your columns. I regret exceedingly that my circular to the public—an abstract of which you gave your readers a month since—was to so great an extent destroyed. I stood responsible for that statement, and am willing to meet that responsibility at any time, under any circumstances, and before any tribunal. I believed it a truthful document, drawn up in a Christian spirit, using language respecting certain rumoured offences in sorrow rather than in anger. Two unimpeached and unimpeachable witnesses, for many years ruling Elders in the Church, concurred in its general correctness, and did not hesitate a moment in giving it their indorsement. Nothing that Mr. Netherland could say would invalidate their testimony. He may writhe under the pressure of public sentiment, and, in his pride, try to feel that he has "done no wrong," and skilfully endeavour to raise collateral issues, but he cannot change the facts, and so long as he stands up to their defence, the verdict of the civilized world will be pronounced against him.

Furious threats were made by the Netherland party after my "Circular" was published, such as commitment to the Penitentiary under the Tennessee statutes of 1835, and personal violence; but "none of these things moved me," as I had determined neither to run away nor to be driven away from the line of duty. The negro-trader, Mr. Blevins, assaulted me in a store at Rogersville with a heavy yardstick, but Elder Johnston interposed, and, as some one observed, "could have easily threshed the ground with him," and would have done it if he had continued the assault. Disappointed in the result of this attempt at intimidation, Mr. Netherland's nephew undertook a cowhiding. Remonstrances were in vain. He struck at me twice with the cowhide, and then in self-defence I choked him some time against the counter, which moderated his zeal so that he abandoned the idea. Mr. Netherland's brother-in-law went so far, it was said, as to remark that he "could stand by and see me garroted on the streets of Rogersville," and all because I had called the attention of the Church to the offences in which Col. N. was implicated, but which, to my utter astonishment, they, as a family, were disposed to justify. The family, in connection with the negro-traders and a few others, in all *about one-tenth the members of the Church*, determined that I should not preach my farewell sermon in our Church, and they arbitrarily locked the Church door against the Sunday School, and a part of the Elders, and a majority of the Church-members and congregation who disapproved of such proceedings.

And yet Mr. Netherland would have the public believe that he has throughout these rumoured cruelties and Church disturbances acted the part of a moderate, a reasonable and a Christian man. Throughout his statement the reader, if he can wade through its miserable grammar and wretched composition, will perceive that he has kind and gracious words and gentlemanly address for the negro-trader, but the absence of all these when speaking of a minister of the Gospel. I must allude, however, more definitely to what he has written.

If anything was needed to corroborate the essential truthfulness of my Circular, it has been supplied by this statement of Col. Netherland. The cruel whipping of Anthony, as stated, he could not deny. That Abe received THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-ODD blows under the circumstances mentioned he had not the hardihood to call in question. His whole communication, therefore, may be regarded, and will be regarded, as a confession of judgment against himself, with an awkward attempt to justify, or at least to palliate, the criminality with which he is charged. His friends need no longer deny his connection with the whipping of the old family servant Anthony, or of Abe, since he has clearly and unequivocally admitted it, and in his own language "fully approved" of it. The negro-trader is not charged with going beyond his instructions, and whatever inhumanity or brutality there was in the case, Mr. Netherland shoulders it all, asserting that he has "done no wrong." He is welcome to his reflections after such a declaration.

Mr. Netherland makes some singular revelations in his statement. He tells us that Anthony had been a most unprincipled servant—had been the property of a number of masters, owing to his "badness," to use a common phrase, and yet when this unprincipled servant sent him word that he wished he would buy him, "as a matter of feeling," "to gratify" the negro, he bought him. And afterwards, when he was offered a good price for his services, he tells us that he hired *this very negro* as the servant of the Rogersville Female College, where a large number of young ladies "boarded and slept from our own and adjoining States," whose purity and welfare he seems to have now so much at heart. It may seem singular that he would hire so bad a servant in the midst of so many young ladies. Perhaps he has yet some explanations to offer on this point. From his harping so much on Anthony's being at the College, one might think this was the most important item that was suppressed or omitted in the Circular. Perhaps if Abe had been hired there also, so as to bring some money to his owner, we would never have heard any objection to his being at the College.

He makes some discoveries, too, as to the depravity of Abe. He refers to his knocking a man down for trying to induce his wife to marry him (his *perhaps* in the sentence is artful, but without truth), and he charges Abe in this connection with committing rape, as if it were possible for a man to commit rape with his own wife. But admit this statement to be true, what shall we think of Mr. Netherland's claim to respectability and principle, if, from motives of avarice merely, he would consent to send a slave who had perpetrated crimes for which the laws of his own State would condemn him to the gallows, to disturb the peace and purity of Mississippi homes? Whichever way he turns he involves himself in a serious dilemma. If anxious to give the whole truth on this subject, why did not Col. Netherland inform the public that Abe was a member of the Kingsport Presbyterian Church, that he had acted as the Sexton both of the Kingsport and of the Rogersville Churches—that he was the principal coloured servant in preparing for our Church suppers and the entertainment of social parties, and no one then dreamed of being afraid of him? Why did he not state that an Elder of the Presbyterian Church, who had known Abe from childhood, sent word to the negro trader, after the whipping, to fix his price on him, and he would buy him? And why did he not add, that a Presbyterian minister of a sister Chruch, and a slaveholder, said, if he had the money to spare, and money would buy him, Abe should not go away from East Tennessee? It might not have answered his purpose quite so well to have mentioned these things, but it would have left an impression more in harmony with the truth.

And here I will notice his specifications of falsehood, in which he takes such pains to divert the attention of the public from the real issue. They are eight in number, though miserably jumbled together. Let us see where the guilt is:

1. He says it is untrue that the negro Abe was blindfolded and cruelly whipped. He seemed to be afraid to risk either of these assertions by itself, and so he has linked them together. A member of the Baptist Church told me that *he saw* Abe blindfolded preparatory to the whipping, and a creditable member of the Presbyterian Church bore similar testimony. They are competent to decide whether they could have been mistaken.

On the question of cruelty, Mr. Netherland is an interested witness. There is nothing like facts, however, some one has said, to determine such questions. If Col. N. will suffer himself to be stripped in a similar manner and tied, whether blindfolded or not will matter little, and be willing to receive three hundred and thirty odd blows on the bare skin, with a similar leather strap, similarly laid on, he may then be a more impartial and a more competent witness as to the matter of cruelty. Until he is willing to submit to this operation, the public will be apt to stand by its present position.

2. Col. Netherland convicts himself of uttering an untruth when he affirms that a magistrate did not say that, "if an attempt had been made to whip Abe the second day, he supposed they would not get through with it." This was said before witnesses, and Col. N. has but involved himself in his eagerness to criminate others.

3. As to the third specification that Anthony was whipped "on suspicion," I may say that I stated in the circular what was currently reported in the community, and reported, too, it is believed, on the authority of Col. Netherland himself. Unless he has different statements for different individuals, and to suit any change of circumstances, we suppose this specification will, of course, go by the board. How much better for him to have relieved himself, if within his power, of the odium which now attaches to him, as the planner and defender of these outrages against humanity.

4. If Anthony was not "dutiful and exemplary" as a servant, as Mr. Netherland professes to have long known, what shall we think of his master's integrity and honour in hiring him as a servant *by the year* to the Female College? Actions, certainly, speak louder than words.

As to Anthony *nursing* him—we do not suppose that he suckled him, if that is the *dodge* he is after; but we have heard it repeatedly stated, by those who professed to know, and had the best means of knowing, that Anthony was one of the family servants that helped bring up Col. Netherland; and we have more than once heard Anthony speak of helping bring up "Massa John," and of his feelings when "Massa John" first went to College, when he returned home, &c., &c.

5. Whatever Mr. Netherland may say to the contrary, it is true, and he knows it, that he was unwilling to come before the Church Session, to give the desired explanation, and, if possible, exonerate himself; and the best proof of it is, that he has not done it to this good day. At Rogersville his declaration, on this point, will be regarded by the majority of the community as the grossest and most deliberate falsehood. He was exceedingly offended because I told Elder Caldwell, after I had resigned, that I still thought he (Col. N.) should go before the Session, and, if possible, relieve himself of the rumoured charges of inhumanity—that in my judgment the peace and union of the Church depended in a great degree upon his adopting this plan.

6. After his statement of Sept. 16, few will need further proof that he defended his course upon the chattel ground. With what heartless and desperate daring he justifies the whipping of Abe and Anthony! With what cool effrontery he speaks of the two elders, whose humanity led them to protest against such chattelism as the brute view of slavery which he espouses and defends! Indeed, the charges once admitted, and the chattel ground was the only ground upon which he could defend himself; for, if he was willing to be called to account for his treatment of Anthony, how could he possibly censure his minister for insisting upon giving him the opportunity.

Perhaps it was appropriate that Mr. Netherland should come to the defence of the doctor, who had, with such havoc to his own reputation, yet so valiantly, defended him. But we can say to Col. N. that, unfortunately, he has committed another serious blunder, for in our statement to the public we gave the very language Dr. Carmichael used before the Presbytery—officially certified.

7. In his seventh specification Mr. N. perils his reputation again, as a truthful man. In reply, we might refer him to an able editorial which recently appeared in the *Presbyterian Witness* in reference to the Knoxvile Southern Commercial Convention, confirming the view we presented. His fling at the convenient doctor is too impotent and puerile to need any notice at our hands.

8. I did not, as Col. N. seems to affirm, charge his brother-in-law with writing any article in the papers, advocating the "chattel ground." I stated what was true, that the article in question had, by some, been attributed to him, partly from its style, and partly because no one but a member of the family was thought to feel interest enough in the matter to volunteer such an article, and the family were understood cordially to approve of it.

It is humiliating that a man of Mr. Netherland's age and experience should take such infinite pains, and out of such slender materials, to make out so serious a charge. As he is so ready to impeach the veracity of others, he must, of course, have a high regard for his own. But let us look at a short docket made from his statement.

1. When Mr. Netherland classified me with the Abolitionists of the North, he penned what he knew to be, as he has often admitted, a false charge. In the circular which he and his friends were so anxious to suppress, my position on the slavery question is clearly defined. I distinctly repudiate the abolition *sin per se* doctrine and the chattel doctrine, and state what I believe to be the only scriptural and defensible view of slavery. Doubtless Col. N. was aware that, once fix the charge of Abolitionism on a man in the South, whether true or false, he might then, peradventure, have full sweep to say anything else he pleased, to make out his case, without fear of contradiction.

2. No language can adequately express the infamy of the false and slanderous insinuation of Col. Netherland, that I put the negro on equal grounds with the white man, "even to associate with their families, and intermarry with their daughters." There are few men in East Tennessee abandoned enough to make such reckless assertions. It might here be appropriate to ask Col. Netherland, as he may be able to tell us, *whose Anglo-Saxon blood rolls through the veins of the mother of Abe's children?* If general rumour can be relied on, the less he turns the attention of the public to his personal and practical views of amalgamation, the more comfortable will be his own feelings.

3. Mr. Netherland utters what he knows to be untrue, when he says I objected to his being requested to give the Session the information that was desired. His blunder was, that he wished to be treated with uncommon consideration. He thought I should have called on him privately, and he could have satisfied me that all was right, without troubling the Session with any inquiry into the case. I regarded the matter at the outset as a public, and not as a private, offence, and proceeded accordingly.

4. Col. Netherland need not try to disgrace the town by the wilful falsehood (as the people of Rogersville can testify) that the Methodist and Baptist and Old School Churches refused me the use of their houses of worship for the delivery of my farewell sermon. One Church was occupied the Sabbath it was needed; the other two were politely tendered, and one of them would have been occupied by us had not the day been so pleasant that a shady grove was preferred by the large congregation that assembled.

5. It is not true that I drew up resolutions against Col. N. before the Session.

6. It is also untrue that I presented charges against him, as he well knows.

7. Every one of his eight specifications *either directly affirms or involves a falsehood.*

When Col. Netherland says, he never whipped a grown negro in his life, was it not suppressing a part of the truth, at least, for him to withhold the fact, that when Abe was first caught, after his professed sale to Mr. Blevins, before he was started to jail, he received an unmerciful whipping at Kingsport, by Mr. Netherland's orders, though he says, he did not own him. True, *he* did not lay on the blows himself, but *he had it done.* He can give his own reasons for not whipping the mother of Abe's children also, for harbouring him so long in the cellar of one of the most respectable ladies of the country. It may be well enough to add that it is one of the peculiarities of Mr. Netherland, that to evade responsibility, he generally puts others prominent to execute his will, so that he acts while not appearing to act.

In boasting of his own rudeness to me, in the estimation of many, Mr. Netherland is pursuing the proper course to win a place among the number of those who "glory in their shame." His declaration that, after all, he regarded Anthony as a "better man and more of a gentleman" than the minister that laboured acceptably in his Church for nine years, serves to reveal the malignity of his feelings, his intellectual impotence, and also the fact that he does not believe himself the dark picture he has drawn. With such a confession before us we might dismiss him, and anything he may hereafter say, from further notice.

We will add this much, however, in conclusion. The more we contemplate the course of Mr. Netherland, the more inexcusable it appears. It cannot be defended at home, or from home. We may yet, at the earnest solicitations of many of our friends, make Rogersville our permanent field of labour; and there is nothing in the threats of Col. Netherland, we can assure him, or of his slave-trading allies, that would prevent me one moment from repeating and propagating every sentiment I have ever advanced in East Tennessee. He might bring out his cowhide, and arm his negroes, as much as he chose, in defence of chattelism; the moderate slaveholders and the masses of the people hate with a perfect hatred the brute view of slavery he seems to have espoused, and instead of my feeling any apprehension of personal danger, there would be much more probability, in the long run, unless he should modify his position, that an indignant and outraged community would set its seal of reprobation deep upon his brow, and satisfy him with emphasis that, however inhumanly he may treat black people, the white people of the country do not belong to him, and are not under his control.

Hoping that Mr. Netherland may yet see the folly and wickedness of his course, and receive the gifts of hearty repentance and genuine reform.

I remain yours, very truly, SAMUEL SAWYER.

### *THE TRACT SOCIETY AT JERUSALEM, AND THE TRACT SOCIETY IN NEW YORK.*

THE course of the managing and directing power in the Tract Society tends to the sapping and mining of the moral sense of the community. It sets an example in high places of evading and violating obligations entered into and responsibilities assumed on the part of agents toward their employers. Why should it be thought strange for the officers of a bank or railroad corporation to take the affairs of the concern into their own hands, and manage it for their own advantage, disavowing all responsibility to the stockholders, if the agents of a Christian corporation can thus set up for themselves in any particular part of the policy of the concern, in disregard of the plainly expressed will of their employers? All the grounds of confidence in the management of any institution will be annihilated in the community, and the bonds of moral obligation will be everywhere loosened, if such an example prevails. The late circular by the Publishing Committee of the Tract Society is one of the most potent, sweeping, far-reaching tracts, both doctrinal and practical, that they have ever published; a tract of most alarming and portentous tendency; a tract sanctioning the repudiation of bonds at the bare will of the individual bound, or according to the notions of expediency in the mind of the responsible party.

But further; some of these gentlemen who have set their names to such a decision, against the expressed judgment and purpose of their constituents, as announced in their annual meeting, are pastors of our Churches, and others are laymen in them. Their declaration, consequently, of the principles according to which the word of God is to be proclaimed or withheld, at the decision of expediency, applies to the pulpit as well as the press. At any rate, it will properly be so claimed and acted upon. The men themselves who forbid the Tract Society to say a word as to any of the iniquities of slavery will certainly not hold their pulpits free for such reproof, nor consider themselves as commissioned or permitted to apply it. The law muzzling the Gospel in tracts is also a law muzzling it in the pulpit. Those who are unwilling that the Tract Society should speak out are equally unwilling that the pulpit should speak out; those who forbid the Tract Society from speaking, on the ground of expediency, forbid the preacher on the Sabbath from preaching, on the same ground. The Tract Society must not speak out against slavery, because its customers at the South affirm that if it does, they will withdraw their patronage, will not receive any of their tracts. The pulpit must not speak out against slavery, because, if it does, the customers there will be offended, and will turn away the minister who brings forth such a message from God. It is expediency in both cases that decides the matter, and not conscience, nor the word of God.

What a wonderful contrast there is between the behaviour of the early Christians in such a crisis, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and the behaviour of these gentlemen, as they lay down the law of expediency, peace and silence in regard to the great sin and curse of our country. When the oral tracts proclaimed by Peter and John in Jerusalem began to take effect, the rulers, the elders, the scribes, Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest, assembled at Jerusalem to consider this matter and demand by what authority such a publication of truth had been made. They then conferred among themselves, and concluded, in order that the truth so proclaimed might not spread farther among the people, straightly to threaten the preachers that they should speak thenceforth to no man in that style and name. So they called them, and commanded them not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus.

Now, according to the modern example and modern notions, it would have been the duty of Peter and John to examine the state of feeling and of prejudice among the Jewish people, and especially their rulers, and to see whether they could not, by cutting and squaring the Gospel according to their wishes, render it acceptable, and thus extend their publication of it. They should have considered that it was not their business to force a whole Gospel on the people, but to be content with the colportage of such part of it as they were willing to receive. They ought to have been ready to sacrifice *the* Gospel, on the ground of the mercy of being permitted to publish *a* Gospel. They ought to have given up the whole, as a just price for the privilege of preaching a part. If we preach the whole (they should have reasoned), then these poor Jews, who have nothing but the Scriptures in their hands, will exclude all our publications, will refuse to hear us, and thus we shall be cut off from all the vast amount of usefulness we might otherwise accomplish. Doubtless they ought to have inquired into the state of feeling, and to have considered whether it would not be proper to hearken to the Jewish rulers more than unto God, at least so far as to conceal the offensive parts of the Gospel.

But they answered instantly, without one moment's hesitation, Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard. And then, when they returned to their own company, and reported to a mass meeting of the Christians what had been said, what commands of silence had been laid upon them, what awful threatenings had been added, what was the conclusion? Did the Christians of that day consult first of all for the things that make for peace, or first of all for God's righteousness, truth and glory? Did they say, First peaceable, then pure, or First pure, then peaceable? Did they consider and agree first of all to ask the sinners in Jerusalem, and the chief priests, and scribes, and elders, what preferred sins must not be mentioned as under Gospel condemnation, or what they would choose to have condemned? Did they conclude that, in consequence of the great agitation and danger, it would only provoke wrath to preach what God had appointed, and therefore they would consent to withhold part of the message, and so buy a currency for the rest? Did they throw themselves, amidst the threatenings of man, upon human expediency or upon God's will? Did they counsel the concealment of God's word, or greater prudence in proclaiming it, or less boldness and earnestness in applying it? Let the record answer, "Lo, thou art God, who, by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? And now, Lord, behold their threatenings, and grant unto thy servants that WITH ALL BOLDNESS THEY MAY SPEAK THY WORD."

Here was the edict of the great apostolic Tract Society. Here was the great popular Christian constituency throwing themselves and the apostles upon God, and asking no other question but just this: What saith the Lord? Our Tract Committee ask, What say the slaveholders? What say the South? And they deliberately affirm that we must not preach God's word according to God's rule, whether men will hear or forbear, but must first inquire what will please hearers and readers, what they will bear quietly, what truths they will have concealed, and what presented.

We mean to show how the independence of the pulpit is assailed, and its freedom destroyed, by such doctrines. A debanchery of the public confidence is produced by such principles, such calculations of profit and loss as the supreme arbiter of duty, against which the integrity of the pulpit cannot stand. As it was of old, in the prevalence of the same sins that are now protected, so at this day "the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so. AND WHAT WILL YE DO IN THE END THEREOF?"—*Rev. Geo. B. Cheever, in The Independent.*

### *REORGANIZATION OF THE SUPREME COURT.*

From The Chicago Tribune.

THE Republicans, at an early day in the next session of Congress, will introduce, and unanimously support, a bill for the reorganization of the Supreme Court, and a readjustment of the Judicial Circuits, according to population and political weight. Under the present system, the slave States, with a white population, according to the census of 1850, of 6,412,503, are represented in the Supreme Bench by *five* Judges; while the free States, with a population, according to the same authority, of 13,434,798, are allowed but *four* members in the highest judicial tribunal in the country. The representation of the free States in the lower house of Congress is one hundred and forty-three; that of the slave States, with the constitutional proviso for the enumeration of two-thirds of the negroes—a proviso which does not extend to the Supreme Bench—only ninety.

The United States are divided into the following nine Judicial circuits:

| Circuits. | FREE STATES. | Free Population. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island | 2,043,204 |
| 2. | Vermont, Connecticut and New York | 3,782,306 |
| 3. | New Jersey and Pennsylvania | 2,801,341 |
| 7. | Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan | 4,207,869 |
| Four Circuits. | Total free population | 12,834,720 |
| | SLAVE STATES. | |
| 4. | Delaware, Maryland and Virginia | 1,383,912 |
| 5. | Alabama, Louisiana and Kentucky | 1,443,394 |
| 6. | North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia | 1,249,167 |
| 8. | Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri | 2,110,174 |
| 9. | Mississippi and Arkansas | 457,907 |
| Five Circuits. | Total free population | 6,644,554 |

In the above table Kentucky is twice numbered. Deducting her population, the total for the slave States is reduced to 5,883,037. Texas, Florida, Wisconsin, Iowa and California are not yet attached to any circuits—the white population of either Iowa or Wisconsin being at the present time greater than that of the ninth Circuit.

From these figures it will be seen that the free States would have, under a fair apportionment, at least six of the nine Judges. Apart from considerations of the political complexion of the Supreme Bench, and the astounding *dictum* put forth in the late Dred Scott decision, the democratic principle of government demands a remodelling of the Court. The majority principle which runs through all departments of our polity, is a palpable farce so long as a minority Court has the power of "deciding" away every enactment which happens to displease that minority. But in the case of the present Supreme Court of the United States, this requirement is magnified by the notorious negro-breeding proclivities of the majority of its members. That the Dred Scott decision is a falsification of history, a prostitution of law and an enormity on the civilization of the age is hardly a question for enlightened debate. The only argument put forth by its Democratic adherents in the North is the exceeding sanctity of the Court which pronounced it. It is not held that the opinion of Taney and his majority allies is a faithful rendering of the Constitution—it is not declared to be in keeping with the humanity of the age and nation—it is not held up as a master discovery among the principles of free government; it is only driven in the popular face as the pronunciamento of five slaveholding lawyers accidentally placed where their opinions are authority for the continent.

Of course a great cry will be raised among the amalgamationists, North and South, in opposition to this movement. The inviolability of the Judiciary will be enlarged upon, and quite likely the Union will be on the brink of dissolution and only saved by the self-sacrificing devotion of a few hundred doughfaces. But the liberties of a nation cannot be forever at the mercy of half-a-dozen slave-drivers. The Supreme Court of the United States is established by law, and the power which enacted that law can repeal it.

The Supreme Court is an ambitious organization. From being expounders, they have become makers of the law. It requires but a moderate degree of ingenuity on the part of any Judge to make a plausible argument in justification of any decision required by personal or party interest. In the Dred Scott case the Supreme Court exceeded itself. It enacted a law defining the relations of races, when, according to its own ruling, there was no such subject under consideration. It is time the people resumed the law-making prerogative; and if the ousting of a Bench full of pro-slavery Judges is necessary to a resumption of this right, let it be done with as little delay as possible.

### *SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.*

From The Providence Journal.

IT is often painful to observe how slow is the progress of truth in nations, which we often called half-civilized, and which give many proofs of future greatness. In the empire of Brazil, for instance, whose prospects are certainly more promising than those of almost any other South American government, it appears that ignorance of the true views of slavery prevails to an alarming extent. By the laws of that land any slave may make known to a magistrate his desire to be free, may have his price fixed, and when he has earned the required sum, may demand his liberty. When he has gained his freedom, there is no legal barrier to his obtaining any civil office, except that of Imperial Senator.

Some slaves are so blind to their temporal and eternal interests that they actually avail themselves of the privilege of purchasing their freedom, and afterwards attain to opulence. Some of the most active, accomplished, and influential men are descendants of slaves. It is believed by many who are capable of judging, that slavery is rapidly diminishing in that nation, which entertains so loose ideas on the blessed institution. If it should wholly disappear there, it would be a merited punishment for the culpable neglect of the people to inform themselves of their true duty to the slaves. Our Southern Doctors of Divinity might well cite it as a signal instance of divine retribution on earth.

Would it not be well for the Southern Commercial Convention to send one of its numerous steamers to that benighted land, laden with Dr. Ross's sermons, and the files of the Charleston *Mercury?* It is certainly missionary ground. Perhaps the new Southern Presbyterian Assembly will render some help in this distressing case. It might not be judicious for them to go to the expense of circulating the whole Bible among those ignorant people; it would be better to send the Book of Leviticus and the touching story of Onesimus, well guarded by proper commentaries. And yet the style of these works being rather antiquated, it would be best to rely mainly for the present on the sermons and newspaper. But at all events the great Brazilian heresy must be extirpated. Else when we arrive at the Amazon in our sublime course of Southern annexation, we may find another Mason and Dixon's line, and a whole empire of *Black Republicans*. In mere self-defence then, we must do something for Brazil. She must not lag half a century behind in her views of the great instrumentality in American civilization.

### *PROSPECTS OF A FREE STATE IN TEXAS.*

From The New Orleans Crescent.

IT is not altogether a new thing to our readers that, while a portion of the Southern people have been making strenuous efforts to introduce Kansas into the Union as a slave State, the rapidly-growing anti-slavery influence in one of the Southern States has been almost entirely overlooked. We allude to Texas, the western portion of which is rapidly filling up with emigrants from Germany and other parts of Europe. To know that this class of emigrants is populating Western Texas almost exclusively is sufficient to satisfy any well-informed and unprejudiced mind that there exists in that section an anti-slavery sentiment. That these emigrants are opposed to the institution of slavery is no secret: they publicly proclaim their opposition to that institution. But because they do not agitate the question of abolition, the party with which these foreigners act affect to believe that no harm can come of their simple feeling of dislike for the institution of slavery.

This *foreign vote is already sufficiently large to control the election in Texas;* for, besides the Europeans settled in the western part of that State, there is quite a large Mexican population. The facts, that the immense German population of Western Texas are radically opposed to the institution of slavery, and that the Democratic party owes its success to their votes and takes them to its bosom, are patent to every intelligent resident of that State. It is not so much those facts to which we wish to direct public attention as to the duplicity or criminal blindness of that party in urging these foreigners, as they arrive by hundreds and thousands, into organized political prominence for the sake of temporarily profiting by their votes, regardless of whatever consequences may ensue.

The leaders of the Democratic party in Texas not only know *that a powerful anti-slavery sentiment exists in the western part of that State, but that it is rapidly increasing,*

*so rapidly that, if it meets with no interruption, five years will not expire before it will wield a controlling political influence*, if not strong enough to effect a division of the State, and declare the western portion free. And these same leaders know that the last Legislature established a new county, most of the soil within the limits of which belonged to a few Germans, who intended bringing over and settling upon it a colony of four thousand of their countrymen. Whether this has been done, we are not advised; but that such was the intention of the owners of the soil, we are credibly informed by one who is quite familiar with the affairs of Western Texas. Had this colony been brought over, the National Democracy could have greatly strengthened its forces by the adoption of squatter sovereignty.

In addition to this foreign anti-slavery element in Western Texas, there are many natives who will unite with the foreigners in a crusade against slavery, as soon as they are sufficiently strong to promise success. Many of those now occupying prominent positions in the ranks of the National Democracy will be found among the leaders whenever an anti-slavery movement is made. They are men who are not actuated by principle, but by a love for the spoils, and to secure these they are content to act with any party that promises success.

This state of things exists in a Southern State, and no notice is taken of it, while no effort nor expense has been spared to extend slavery into Kansas. This is giving up the substance for the shadow.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1857.


## *THE PEDIGREE OF THE PANIC.*

THE country is panic-struck. From one end of it to the other we hear but one cry of distress and ruin. No man has confidence in any other. The airy foundations on which our apparent prosperity was built up having been sapped, the whole fabric has come tumbling about our ears. Men whose names were a tower of strength three months ago, and whose prosperity seemed beyond the peradventure of disaster, have been swept away by the sway of the gale of ruin as it has careered over the land. The whole country is like a coast strewed with the wrecks of gallant argosies, richly laden, whose canvas but yesterday swelled hopefully to the breeze, and whose streamers gaily pointed the direction in which fortune lay, as they danced at the mast-head. Or, if this simile suit you not, it is like a region over which a hurricane is sweeping. Trees which looked the loftiest and stretched out their branches the broadest, and whose roots, like the Virgilian oak, reached as far towards Tartarus as their branches did towards Heaven, lie on all sides rudely torn up from the soil they fed on or snapped asunder like saplings that a schoolboy breaks and scatters in his wantonness.

But there is this special difference between the thing itself and the similitudes whereunto it is likened. The forces which pile "the shipwrecked coast" with ruin and deform the landscape by the devastation of its forests are the forces of Nature, which go whithersoever they list, coming we know not whence and going we know not whither. Those which have wrought the mischiefs which stretch from the great marts of trade to the remotest village and farmhouse, and which have snatched the bread of life from the hands of hundreds of thousands of willing labourers, they came not forth from the armory where Nature stores her artillery, nor are urged on by the might of laws over which man has no control. The laws, indeed, which have visited this penalty on the heads of those who have broken them are of divine original, but it is men that have placed themselves within the range of their sweep. It is God that ordains the might of winds and waves; it is man's rashness that exposes him to their sway under conditions that make it fatal. The laws of demand and supply, and those regulating the circulation of precious metals, are as invariable and stern as those which rule the year or pour the blood from the heart through the veins. It is the guilt or the folly of man that defies their omnipotence, or doubts their invariableness, and brings upon himself either want or disease by his own faultiness. Such revulsions as the one under which we are now suffering come forth from the weakness of man and not from the power of God. It is there that the source is to be looked for and the remedy derived.

Our whole commercial system is built upon Trust in Man. All prosperity is put on the hazard of the possible success or failure of other people. As long as men believe in each other, all goes well; but the moment the golden links of mutual credit are broken, the whole chain crumbles to pieces like a rope of sand. But what is it out of which this chain is formed, thus binding men far remote from each other in a common interest and a common fate? What but Honesty—the pure gold of true honour and truth between man and man? When truly forged of this, it can break only through errors to which human weakness is liable, and which may be retrieved and the fracture welded together again stronger than ever. But when it is formed out of the baser metal of selfishness and greed, it has no inherent element of cohesion about it, and may part forever by the slightest touch from without or the smallest weakness from within. It is not our province to decide or to consider whether this is the only, or the best, basis on which to found the commercial prosperity of a nation. Whether the infinite complications of the machinery for the distribution of productions and the adjustment of values, should be left at the mercy of projectors and speculators, through the present system of credits, it is not for us to say. But it concerns the Abolitionist, as much as any man, to consider what vice, if any, taints this system and causes it to break out so often into morbid symptoms, if not into fatal disease.

Were all men indeed honest and honourable, the mischiefs periodically flowing from the abuses of our scheme of credits would be manageable, if not inappreciable. It is because men of average honesty of the nation exaggerate their prospects, and feed fat their hopes, and, imposing upon themselves as well as their creditors, enter into obligations which often crush them under their weight, that these revulsions come upon us. And, besides these, there are hosts of unprincipled adventurers who embark upon any sea of speculation that offers itself to their luck, and take their chance of a successful voyage or of a disastrous shipwreck. For, if successful, the gain is theirs; if disastrous, the loss falls on those that trusted them. The vice that lies under all our business, and which has done so much to blight our national character in the eyes of foreign countries, is the low average of honesty and honour which we account sufficient for our uses. Like the mediæval princes, we lower the standard of the coin which is the life-blood of our prosperity, forgetting that it is our own veins that are impoverished by the dishonest debasement. It is a fact, scarcely denied by ourselves, and too patent not to be seen by all beside, that acts of commercial dishonesty which would send a man away from the London Exchange or the Paris Bourse, dishonoured for life, scarcely affect the character of shrewd and active men, and do not at all stand in the way of their achieving the success which gilds every crime.

Now, there must be a reason for this deterioration of national honesty; for we cannot but believe that the original standard was of a higher degree of purity than what passes current now. It cannot be mere greediness of gain that has made us thus unscrupulous as to the means which may help us to satisfy it. For this sacred hunger of gold is not peculiar to this nation, nor are the unscrupulousnesses which seek short roads to it—only to other nations the shortness does not sanctify the breaking down of other men's landmarks, as with us. The degeneracy of the national sense of honesty—which is but a scrupulous regard for the rights of others—springs, as we believe, from that national contempt for the rights of the sixth of themselves which has been organized into the part of our institutions watched over with the most jealousy, and, indeed, overshadowing and absorbing all the rest. We have built up our polity on the dishonest denial of his rights to every sixth labourer in the land. Every time we approach office, we directly swear to maintain this knavery and robbery; and, indirectly, every time we appoint a deputy to perform it for us, by our votes. Can we wonder that we should grow hardened to dishonest acts among ourselves?

It is with honesty as with humanity, long custom changes and perverts the natural instincts of the human breast. As familiarity with the necessities of the whipping-post make men into Legrees and Netherlands, so the constant contemplation of the dishonesty to the blacks, which is the essence of the slave system, dulls the natural sense of the beauty of fair dealing and honour between white man and white man. How can we be in partnership with men who steal their wages from their labourers every day, and their children every year, and not have the delicate sensibility of our personal honour deadened? When Calhoun, and Webster, and Buchanan, the Bench of the Supreme Court, the chiefest divines and most powerful presses in the land teach that the robbing of the negro is the most sacred right reserved to the South, and the sustaining her in it the highest duty of the Government, the essence of religion and the flower of patriotism, can we marvel that the sanctity of promises between white men cannot be maintained in all its strength? The idea is an absurdity. Whatever may be the immediate cause of the present financial distress, the secondary one is the growing indifference to faith-keeping, and the primary the partnership with fraud and robbery which creates and fosters it. Dissolve the partnership with our dishonest partners at the South, and honesty may begin to come into fashion again. Destroy slavery, as you will by this dissolution, and our national honour will cease to be a jest and bye-word to all the rest of the world.

## *THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.*

IN less than a week from this time, the State Society of Pennsylvania, one of the most important in the Union, will celebrate its Twenty-first Anniversary. The meeting will commence on Friday, the 23d inst., at 10, a. m., in the Horticultural Hall at West Chester, and will continue in session, with the usual adjournments, till the evening of the following day. The third day, Sunday, will probably be devoted to a meeting or meetings of a more general character.

Our Philadelphia correspondent, writing upon the subject, says: "Among the persons who are to be present, may be named WM. LLOYD GARRISON, the veteran pioneer of the cause, and a speaker whom we regard, taking him all in all, as without a superior in our ranks; the Rev. Dr. FURNESS, whose praise is in all the Churches (that are Churches) and who has kindly consented to address the Convention, the first day of the session; SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, a speaker of fine talents, though from an unfounded distrust of his powers in this direction, he has been allowing them to rust for want of use; Miss MATTIE GRIFFITH, the distinguished young author of the 'Autobiography of a Female Slave,' whose presence on this occasion will be in itself an eloquent testimony to the power of our cause; LUCRETIA MOTT and MARY GREW, of whom I need not speak, and ROBERT PURVIS, HENRY GREW, EDWARD M. DAVIS, THOMAS WHITSON and MILLER MCKIM, of whom I *will* not speak—all these, with other well known advocates, have promised to be at the meeting. So you see there will be no lack of speakers, and of such too as will be amply competent to discuss any question that may be submitted for consideration. Among the topics that will claim attention may be mentioned—*Kansas—President Buchanan—Governor Walker—the Impending Crisis*—THE PRESENT CRISIS—*the Democratic party—the Republican party*—DISUNION—*The new Presbyterian Church, South—the Tract Society—Judge Kane and Passmore Williamson*. These and other kindred themes will doubtless form the staple of the Society's debates. It is fully expected that the meeting will be the largest that has been held for the last three years. West Chester is a central place, abounding in the best accommodations and easy of access from all parts of the country. It is hoped that many of our friends from the East, who may be going to the Cleveland Convention, will make their arrangements to take our meeting on their way."

## *JUDGE JAY'S LETTER.*

IN the long list of services to the anti-slavery cause which stand, and ever will stand, recorded against the name of WILLIAM JAY, there is no one of so much importance, so striking for its severe and simple truth, so full of manly and stirring eloquence, and so suggestive of serious reflection, as the letter we copy, in another column, in reply to an invitation to sign the Call for the Disunion Convention about to be held at Cleveland. True, he declines to sign the call, and he believes that should those who compose this Convention succeed so far in their purpose as to destroy the reverence of the Union, and render its dissolution possible, that then to dissolve it will cease to be a desirable object. Its destruction, moreover, he holds to be impossible, because a majority of the people are so degraded by a slaveholding tyranny, and so demoralized by participation with infamy, that they have neither the will nor the power to sever their accursed bonds. It is nevertheless a striking incident in the history of the anti-slavery cause that the son of him who, more than any other one man, abolished slavery in this State, and who was a chief among the founders of the Republic, should bear this weighty and emphatic testimony to what a depth of degradation we have sunk, as a people, and to what a despotism that Republic has grown. To Judge Jay it might be pardoned—at least it would not be strange—if filial piety and historical association should hide from his eyes the damning facts which prove that the labours of the generation which preceded him, in the formation of the Federal Union, were worse than vain and futile. But if his sight is so clear, and his judgment so unbiassed, may we not accept it as a sign that the scales will soon fall from the eyes of all men, and that the time is not far distant when all the people shall judge with a righteous judgment?

Perhaps it is owing to the influence of those very associations to which we have just alluded that there is an undertone of despair running through this letter. It is easy to understand how the reflections of one who looks back upon the labours of the life of a father, based so nobly upon a devotion to the rights of man; who remembers that the best years of his own life have been given to the same holy cause; and who sees at his side a son who has earned for himself the same high distinction—it is easy to understand how his reflections should be rather sad than hopeful, when he considers how evil the times are upon which we have fallen, to how gigantic a growth wrong has reached among us, and how truth and righteousness have fallen and been put away backward. The illusions of despair, however, are sometimes as natural as the illusions of hope, and any one may be pardoned if, on looking steadily at the dark side of the picture which this country presents, at this moment, he sees, so black is it, nothing but blackness.

There is nevertheless a bright side which is inevitably suggested by Judge Jay's letter. With all deference to one so much older and wiser than ourselves, we are more hopeful than he, because we think we see a cause for the gloomy state of affairs, which he sets forth in such dark and strong colours, that he fails to detect. It is not simply because we are governed by a base and ignoble and sordid party that we are a demoralized people, for all parties, of later days, have been much alike in their subserviency to the Slave Power. The Whigs have been loud in anti-slavery professions when out of power, but they have been no better than the Democrats when the livery of Heaven has served their purpose and the opportunity has been given them to serve the devil. The Republicans, we hope, are better, but as yet we have to take their virtue mainly upon trust; their chief merit, however, lying in this—that as they promise less, we have a little more reason for hoping that they would be able and willing to fulfil their promise. But the important truth is, and one which we cannot and must not forget, that it is not base and wicked parties which have made the Union a curse, but the Union itself which has made the parties base and wicked. It is not that the people are inherently and hopelessly depraved, but that a radically vicious form of government has bound them hand and foot and delivered them into the hands of a compact, tyrannical oligarchy, to be moulded to its will, and used at its pleasure. They have grown accustomed to their chains; and the deeper is their debasement, and the more contented are they in their enslavement, the more apparent do these become, and the more likely are they to continue. That Northern parties should be the most willing and the worst instruments of this despotism is not simply because that debasement brings its own reward, but they are so by the same law of the human mind which makes negroes the most cruel slave-drivers. They would rather wield the whip and do it with a will than feel it on their own backs in the hands of another.

Here there is a ground-work of our hope for the future We began wrong as a nation and evil is the fruit. Let us begin again and begin right, and reap the good. The Union has brought us nothing but sorrow and evil; what material blessings we have come in spite of it. Let us get rid of that Union, and re-form our social compact, in which the great truth that "all men are born free and equal" shall not be held as a "glittering and sounding generality," but a substantial and practical fact, which the humblest citizen may assert before the universe with the certainty that lawgivers and Constitutions will bow before it. If the South asks for admission to a Union on such a basis, bid her welcome. If she prefers her own social and political institutions, then let her go to —— her own place.

Whether the Union will be dissolved or not when the people shall be ready for its destruction, rather than consent, for another moment, to be, as they now are, the most submissive of slaves, while at the same time they are in league with the basest of tyrants, is, certainly, a question which we cannot now settle; and one which fortunately does not at all concern us. We see and we feel the Union to be what Judge Jay so vividly describes it. As we are patriots, Christians, men, we have only to work for the utter and instant overthrow of a form of government so accursed. Whether we are likely to succeed or not, our duty is unalterable, if the Union must be a curse till we are ready to abolish it. For our part, however, we believe that success is certain and inevitable, even as we believe that assaults upon Slavery itself will hasten its downfall. If we mean to attack the citadel, shall we falter at its outer wall?

## *COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION.*

GERRIT'S SMITH'S SPEECH in support of the scheme of Compensated Emancipation, delivered at the Cleveland Convention, appears in *The Liberator* of last week, together with an able and conclusive review thereof from the pen of Mr. Garrison. In reading the speech and the review we have been more than ever at a loss to divine by what process of self-delusion and moral bewilderment Mr. Smith, whose integrity is unquestionable, has been able to conceal from himself the palpable inconsistencies and absurdities involved in the scheme of which he appears a voluntary champion. It is a moral and psychological puzzle, altogether beyond our comprehension.

—Since the above was in type we have received the following letter from Mr. Smith, which we promptly and cheerfully publish:

PETERBORO', Oct. 11, 1857.

*To the Editors of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

I am pleased to see in your last number my letter to Mr. Hosmer. Abolitionists have not said enough of the impossibility of being married whilst in slavery.

I have read, too, with pleasure, your strictures in the same number on *The Independent*. That paper treated you with great injustice. You seem not aware, however, that in the same number in which you expose this injustice you treat me with a greater injustice.

You read the *N. Y. Tribune*. Two or three years ago it printed my Congressional speech on the Nebraska bill. Last February it printed a long letter of mine to the Abolitionists. Last August it printed my Milwaukee speech. Last month it printed my Cleveland speech. In all these I show what I mean and desire by "Compensation." Nevertheless, you ignore all these, and reprint an article which you find in the *Free Presbyterian*. This article puts into my mouth words that find no countenance in the aforementioned speeches and letter—words that express no views ever entertained by myself. Where the *Free Presbyterian* found this report of my words I know not. I cannot admit my responsibility for all the reports of my words.

I confess that I am both surprised and sad that *you* should publish me as recognising the right of the slaveholder to his slaves. I had before seen evidences of the hostility of the *Free Presbyterian* to me. Cruel was the injustice done me by the Abolition Press in picking up and commending the falsehoods told of me when I was toiling at Washington in the cause of truth. Not less cruel is the injustice done me by its present misrepresentations. Let it criticise as severely as it pleases what I *really* have said and done—but let it not seek to bury me up in falsehoods. Your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

Of course we were "not aware" that in publishing the article in our last from the *Free Presbyterian* we were doing injustice to Mr. Smith. When we placed it in the hands of the printer we had not seen the authorized version of his Cleveland speech, and had no reason to doubt that the words upon which the *Free Presbyterian* commented with such pungent force were a fair report of what he had uttered. The passage had gone the rounds of the press without eliciting any complaint or contradiction. They were "found," doubtless, in the reports of the Cleveland Convention by the press of that city, and we cannot see that their publication in the *Free Presbyterian* affords any evidence of "hostility" on the part of that paper toward Mr. Smith. Frankness, indeed, requires us to say that we think Mr. S. is far too ready to suspect hostility toward himself on the part of Abolitionists who take the liberty of criticising his public course. He charges the Abolition Press with "picking up and commending the falsehoods told of him when he was toiling at Washington in the cause of truth," and intimates that that same press is now seeking to "bury him up in falsehoods." As one of the Abolition presses, we assert our innocence in this matter, our conscience bearing us witness that we cherish toward him no other feelings than those of kindness. He says that we "ignore" what he has published on the subject of Compensation in *The Tribune*. It is true we have not published the letter and speeches to which he refers, and it is also true that we have had no such *inducement* to publish them as was offered to *The Tribune*. We do not think that Mr. Smith has good reason to complain of us that we do not uniformly publish speeches advocating, at great length, doctrines which, upon the maturest consideration, we and our readers regard as preposterous and absurd. Upon the question of Compensation, however, we believe he has never had a hearing in our columns, and, as we are anxious to treat him with the utmost fairness, we propose to publish next week his Cleveland speech.

THE AMERICAN ABOLITION SOCIETY held its anniversary at Syracuse on the 29th and 30th ultimo. Few of our readers need to be informed that this Society—the latest form of "New Organization"—stands upon the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States clothes the National Government with power and imposes upon it the duty of abolishing slavery not alone in the Territories of the Union but also in *the States*. Preposterous as this doctrine seems to us, it is nevertheless the cherished faith of many earnest and devoted friends of the slave; but the reports which have reached us of the proceedings at Syracuse are not calculated to inspire confidence in its practical efficacy. Of the proceedings of the first day we have seen no account, but one of the most prominent friends of the Society says that when he entered the hall on the second day he found assembled not more than fifty persons. The Rev. Samuel J. May was on the floor "saying his usual good word for Mr. Garrison and his friends," whose labours, it would seem, had been somewhat disparaged by previous speakers. This issue having been satisfactorily settled, a discussion arose "concerning the free coloured people, their relations to society, their character and position, and the causes which tend to depress and keep them in a degraded condition." On this subject J. W. Loguen and Frederick Douglass spoke, the latter intimating that "anti-slavery was parting with its former hatred of slaveholders—that abhorrence was giving away to a sickly pity for the slaveholders," &c. He maintained that they (the slaveholders) "should meet with the scorn and reproach of mankind. Their heads should never be allowed to appear without the mark of Cain, the brand of infamy! They should see themselves always in the light of their great crime, condemned criminals in the sight of God and man," &c. These views, it is said, did not meet with general approval in the meeting. The President of the Society, Gerrit Smith, whose commonest epithet in speaking of slaveholders a few years ago was "pirate," took the ground now that they were "*more to be pitied than the slaves.* They were the victims of their own crimes. They were not to be saved by hatred, but by love." "He could not forget that his father had been a slaveholder, and that he had married into a slaveholding family. He was now in correspondence with several slaveholders, and that correspondence disclosed to him a most interesting state of facts. They were troubled about slavery, and he could not contemplate them in the spirit of hatred. He would throw about them the bonds of love and friendship, the better to save them and the slave." We do not believe it is right to "*hate*" the slaveholder, but we *do* believe that "love," in the true sense of the word, requires us to deal with him in the manner in which the prophets and apostles and Christ himself dealt with the oppressors of their day. Upon this point we are content to take as our models Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Jesus of Nazareth. The writer above quoted says: "Differing from Mr. Smith as we do at this point, and also in respect to compensating slaveholders for emancipating their slaves, it may be well here to say that, though that difference is wide and deep, we never felt a warmer admiration and a profounder reverence for his character as a man and a Christian than at the very moment he was making this very speech, and we view with feelings of utter contempt the miserable efforts of the *Liberator* and STANDARD to brand him as an unprincipled man and an unfaithful Abolitionist." Our readers know, of course, that THE STANDARD has never uttered a word or done an act implying that Mr. Smith is "an unprincipled man and an unfaithful Abolitionist." We have indeed impeached his wisdom and consistency, but always in a friendly spirit. And the same is true of *The Liberator*. We have too high an opinion of Mr. Smith's candour and discernment to suppose for a moment that he will countenance such a calumny, or fail to appreciate the motives of its unscrupulous author. The Garrisonian Abolitionists, though they have felt it a duty, for the cause's sake, freely to criticise Mr. Smith, probably respect him quite as highly as those who hope by indiscriminate and fulsome flattery to convince him that they are his special friends and champions, and, on that account, entitled to liberal contributions from his purse.

It seems that Mr. Smith, besides all his contributions in other directions, has given to the American Abolition Society nearly $6,000 in two years, while not more than $2,000 have been received by it from all other sources. This surely proves him to have been sublimely in earnest in his attachment to its principles and confident as to the wisdom of its measures. It is not strange, however, that he spoke in plain terms of the stinginess of other members of the Society and declared that while he should do more for the cause as an individual, he should do less than he had done through the American Abolition Society. It was voted to raise $10,000 during the next year.

## *A FAMILY OF TRAITORS.*

HENRY C. WRIGHT, whose long and faithful devotion to the anti-slavery cause is appreciated by its friends, gives an account, in *The Liberator*, of his return to the place of his nativity (Hartwick, Otsego Co., N. Y.), where he met four brothers and a sister, with a host of nephews and nieces, and revisited with them the familiar haunts of his childhood and youth. After describing some interesting incidents of this family reunion, he proceeds:

But enough of the past. We have not been unmindful of the present, as you will see by the following list of names, appended by my brothers, sister, nephews and nieces, to the Call for a Convention to discuss "the practicability, possibility and expediency of a separation between the Free and Slave States"—of the dissolution of the American Union. We are all W-right, as you see. The original, containing these autographs, I shall preserve. Prouder and happier am I to see their names attached to a Call for a Convention to consider the dissolution of this slaveholding Union than I should be to see them attached to the Declaration of Independence. It is a greater and nobler achievement for the Northern States to assert their independence of the Slave States, and to free themselves from all complicity in the colossal crime of slavery, than it was for our fathers to free themselves from the dominion of Great Britain. In nothing did Britain equal in injustice, insult and outrage towards our fathers, the insults and outrages perpetrated by slaveholders and slave-hunters, and their official bloodhounds (the Taneys, the Kanes, the Leavitts, the Lorings, the Pierces, the Buchanans, and their marshals and tools), upon the people of the Northern States. My brothers, sister, nephews and nieces not only go for a discussion of the question of dissolution, but most of them for the thing itself!

Have we not a right, then, to the honour of being considered a family of traitors to the American Union?—for an honour and an enduring glory it is to seek, by all peaceful means, the dissolution of the existing American Union, simply because that Union is "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Treason to it, open, avowed, unyielding, eternal rebellion against it, is obedience to God.

Treason against the government of Britain was the test question of the age in 1776. By this standard were all men and women tried; and insult, plunder or death awaited those who adhered to their allegiance to Britain. They were stigmatized as "Tories," and Washington and his compeers decided that Tories—all who openly or covertly favoured the cause of George III.—were bad men, enemies to mankind, and as such were to be treated as criminals. But if adherence to Britain was a crime in our fathers, to be punished by confiscation or death, and treason against Britain man's highest duty, how much more worthy of confiscation and death are those, in the North, who, at this day, adhere to the rule of slavery, and seek to extend, perpetuate and strengthen its dark dominion! How much more worthy of all honour and reward, before God and man, are they who array themselves in open, direct rebellion against that colossal lie and fraud, the American Union!—a Union based on four millions of crushed and bleeding hearts, and cemented by the blood and tears of four millions of men, women and children, turned into brutes!

Let all who love God or man, all who respect themselves and their children, go up to that gathering in Cleveland, to consider the subject of a separation between the Free and Slave States, and to discuss the necessity and duty of forming a Northern Confederacy, to be based on the principle of "No Union with Slaveholders." I would be a member of that Convention. I would that all who are dear to me might be members of it. In the future of this world, prouder and happier will they be who are the offspring of those who are openly and earnestly engaged in the dissolution of this unholy copartnership, this slaveholding Union, than are those who now boast of their descent from those who formed it, and so egregiously mistook their duty to their God and their posterity as to make a compromise with "the sum of all villany."

The following are the names of my brothers, sister, nephews and nieces that are appended to the Call. I send them that you may see how it is with us as a family. The five first on the "legal voters" column are brothers, the rest sisters, nephews and nieces. Had I time to get their names, many more would sign it.

| *Legal Voters.* | *Other persons.* |
|---|---|
| Chester Wright, 1st, | Marilla Wright, |
| Chauncey Wright, 1st, | Patience Wright, |
| Moses Wright, | Jerusha R. Wright, |
| Henry C. Wright, | Matilda Wright, |
| Miles Wright, | Helen M. Wright, |
| Chester Wright, 2d, | Sarah Wright, |
| Seth R. Wright, | Lavina P. Wright, |
| Chauncey Wright, 2d, | Julia A. Wright, |
| Milton Wright, | Nancy Wright, |
| | Helen Wright, |
| | Josephine Wright. |

Yours, for the millions in bonds, H. C. WRIGHT.

A NOBLE AND VENERABLE MAN DEPARTED.—Tidings have just reached us of the death of one of the truest and noblest friends of humanity with whom it is has ever been our privilege to become acquainted. NATHAN GALBREATH, of New Garden, Columbiana County, Ohio, has ended his earthly pilgrimage in the peacefulness of a serene and beautiful old age, leaving to his children and a numerous circle of friends rich memorials of a long life consecrated to noble ends. He died on the 7th inst. His daughter, in a letter now lying before us, gives the following account of his last moments:

"Father looked his last on earth last night at 6 o'clock, and passed away in the full possession of his faculties, affections, manly sensibilities and ardent interest in reform; in short, all that made him what he was here and will give him a saint's halo in the world where he has gone. After he lost his ability to read, which was only a few days before his death, he continued to inquire with earnest interest into all of good or bad that our papers contained relative to the great struggles of freedom and right in Kansas and everywhere else, up to the day before his death.

"A friend, whom he has known some twenty years ago, came on Monday night from attendance at Progressive Friends' meeting in Salem. He took a candle, looked into his face, to see if he was still 'Old Isaac,' incendiary and rebellious as ever—talked of old times, inquired earnestly about the meeting, asked his opinion of Free Love, Spiritualism, and a variety of other things, giving his own with as much clearness and purity as I ever knew him to do. On Wednesday, that friend prepared him for death, and saw him receive the last stroke, calmly and with sweet childlike trust."

NATHAN GALBREATH was a man of rare intellectual and moral qualities. In his early manhood he emigrated from North Carolina to Ohio. His sentiments and feelings on the subject of slavery at that early day were those of a genuine Quaker, and hence when the Anti-Slavery Movement arose he welcomed it with all the earnestness of a man instinctively alive to everything that promises relief to suffering humanity. He was from the first a devoted friend of BENJAMIN LUNDY, and no man was more prompt to recognise and respond to the clarion tones of GARRISON when he proclaimed the startling watchword of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION. He loved as his own life the PRINCIPLES of the Society of Friends, but discarded its sectarianism and testified boldly against the compromising spirit which has so long ruled its course. He cheered the organization of the Progressive Friends and coöperated with them so far as the increasing infirmities of age permitted. On every question of humanity and morals he instinctively and spontaneously took the side of justice and truth, regardless of consequences, and was never known to falter or turn back under any temptation. Without conventional polish, he was yet a good specimen of the "fine old Quaker gentleman," and won the respect and veneration of all who met him. His childlike modesty often made him silent in public assemblies when his friends would have welcomed the expression of his views, but in the social circle, in the presence of those who knew him well, he displayed rare clearness of judgment, a winning persuasiveness of voice and manner, and trenchant wit. He earned his daily bread to the last in the sweat of his own noble brow, being rich only in those manly and Christian qualities which fitted him alike for life and death, and the memory of which is a far better inheritance for his children than any amount of silver and gold.

PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.—The Ohio Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, or Friends of Human Progress, was held at Salem on the 3d and 4th inst. The *Bugle* says:

"We are informed that the meetings were especially satisfactory to the friends of the movement. As usual, all the prominent questions of practical reform received the attention of the meeting, and found among its members hearty friends. The question of woman's condition and the means of her improvement and elevation was especially prominent, though apparently without the intention of making it so, on the part of any one. Much interest was given to the meeting by the presence of Joshua R. Giddings, who gave his cordial approval of the great objects of moral and religious improvement the meeting was designed to promote, though in regard to some measures and opinions there was a frank and kind avowal of difference. Andrew T. Foss and Mrs. L. N. Coleman were unexpectedly present and aided in the discussions. The discussions were eminently free and participated in by many other individuals."

The North Collins (Erie Co., N. Y.) Yearly Meeting was held on the 25th, 26th and 27th of Sept. Mrs. Mary F. Davis gives the following account of its proceedings in *The Spiritual Age*:

"We have tarried in western New York in order to attend the Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, which has just been held in North Collins, Erie Co. A large concourse of people assembled from that thriving district of country, and added to the numbers were persons from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio and Wisconsin—all earnest and eager in the cause of human development. The meeting was convened in a Quaker church, one mile from Kerr's Corners, and continued through three of the most beautiful days of the season. Among the speakers were Giles B. Stebbins, Susan B. Anthony, Wm. Wells Brown, Philip D. Moore and A. J. Davis; and the platform was free for the discussion of any and every subject which pertains to human weal or wo. Education, Temperance, Land Reform, Anti-Slavery, Woman's Rights, Marriage and Parentage, Dress Reform, Religious Freedom, Inspiration and Spiritualism—these were among the questions brought before that assembled multitude, and each topic discussed was delineated with such candour, clearness, eloquence and power as could not fail to produce a deep and salutary effect on the minds and hearts of all who listened. It was truly blessed to see gray-headed men and women, bent with toil and trembling with the weariness of life-long endeavour, sit there hour after hour and drink in the truths of a present, living inspiration, till their souls were filled to overflowing with the exuberance of a fresh and fadeless joy. It was gratifying to see the kindling or tearful eye of middle age, as a new resolve to strike out in a purer, nobler faith seemed rising strong and firm within the soul. It was encouraging to see a flush of enthusiasm mantling the brow of youth as the principles of reform and the philosophy of progress were opened up to view."

## *ANTI-SLAVERY IN VERMONT.*

LETTER FROM THE REV. N. R. JOHNSTON.

REV. SAMUEL MAY, JR.—*Dear Sir*: Not long since I saw a letter from a Massachusetts lady, a colporteur of the American Anti-Slavery Society, who had recently visited some towns in Vermont, along the Connecticut river, as high up as Newbury. In that letter, speaking of those towns, she says—I do not remember her words—that, in this region, there is so much religion that there is little humanity. This is a hard accusation against the good people of my neighbouring towns. I cannot endorse it, except on my own explanation, though I would not undertake to disprove it. I have been taught to believe that "pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and windows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." Religion—pure religion and humanity always go hand in hand. The latter—philanthropy—is the genuine offspring of the former. Sectarianism is not religion. To blend them is a great error.

But I did not intend to give you a homily on the foregoing theme. I only intended to say that I have recently attended a series of anti-slavery meetings along the Connecticut Valley, which, in some respects, were very successful. Newbury was one of the villages at which these meetings were held; and I wish to say here that I am inclined to think that, whatever the amount of sectarianism in this region, there is also somewhat of the other elements—religion and philanthropy. I am well persuaded that in the hearts of a large proportion of the intelligent, moral and religious class here, there is such a deep hatred of slavery, if not sympathy for the enslaved, that in order to effect real reformation and progress—to call out these people into vigorous action in the proper direction and in the right manner, little is necessary more than to convince them of their present complicity with the slaveholder. To produce this conviction, more light is necessary; or rather, there is need that the light now enjoyed be thrown in a different direction, and so as to show them the real position of things. The masses have yet to learn that God has ordained other means of social and national reform than the ballot-box and political party. Christians do not all believe that it is always right, wise and safe to "cease to do evil," and that this is the first step towards reform in either Church or State.

The first of the meetings to which I refer was at Barnet, in Caledonia County. In this town modern Democracy is rife; and, to illustrate its character in regard to the anti-slavery movement, I must tell you an anecdote, partly at Miss Watkins's expense. In the village resides a prominent Democratic judge, whom, as I am informed, the party expect to nominate shortly for the governorship. This judge, who is a gentleman in his manners, and I presume a man of intelligence, has relatives in the South who are slaveholders. An acquaintance of his had heard Miss Watkins lecture in Peacham a few days previously, who also heard her address in Barnet, and had been telling to our Judge that Miss Watkins's lectures at the two places were much alike. This fact was, in his estimation, sufficient excuse for his refusal to hear her, though our meeting was near his own residence; and he confidently affirmed that he had "no doubt but that Henry Ward Beecher wrote all her lectures, and that she only recited them." In this connection I might state that the Democrats of my own town confidently declared that the Republican County Executive Committee had hired Miss W. to come to Vermont to help to defeat the Administration candidates. Poor blinded politicians! They see all objects through party spectacles. Their philanthropy is not even "skin deep." Their party prejudice destroys, or nullifies, their common sense.

But, my friend, you may say I am verifying the sentiment of our lady colporteur. Well, be it so, for it may not be far from the truth. But you must remember that Administration Democrats are rare birds in Vermont. Our Republican friends are the representatives of public sentiment in the Green Mountain State, and I apprehend that whatever religion or philanthropy—of course I mean anti-slavery philanthropy—there may be here, is found principally among Republicans. One fact I may mention here. I know of but one or two Democrats among the clergy of all denominations. They are, almost to a man, Republicans; and, to their honour be it spoken, they are nearly all anti-slavery: that is, they are not South-Side Adamses or President Lords. Probably, however, I speak too confidently; for my acquaintance with the clergy of Vermont is quite limited.

At McIndoes Falls we had two large and interesting meetings. Most of the time of the afternoon meeting was occupied by Miss Watkins; most of the one in the evening, by your correspondent. The lecture in the evening was of the regular Garrisonian and disunion character, and before a very full house, and yet I could not discern the least unwillingness to hear the most ultra Abolitionism. The anti-slavery sentiment in this region is very prevalent, and McIndoes Falls may be put down as in advance of most places in Vermont. With the exception, however, of Covenanters, who are numerous in this vicinity, I did not find any practical come-outer Abolitionists. I found, indeed, one man who takes *The Liberator*, and who endorses the platform of the American Society—a regular Garrisonian in theory; but who votes with the Republicans. In answer to my question, how he could, holding our sentiments, so act, he replied—"O, I must help the Republicans." Can you tell me whether his conscience, or what part of his moral structure, is unhinged? A most zealous and active Abolitionist he is; but I am sure his moral organs—I am no phrenologist—are not as highly developed as those of William Lloyd Garrison. By the way; who has higher moral organs, according to phrenology, than our hero, Garrison?

I have made allusion to the colporteur's remark about religion and humanity in the region of our late anti-slavery meetings. She passed up the valley of the Connecticut as high as Newbury. At this place we held our next meetings, which were large and very interesting; and I fondly hope good was done. There is here a flourishing literary institution, under the control of the Vermont Methodists; and I take pleasure in saying that our Methodist friends here manifested much interest in the cause, as well as great kindness and hospitality. Our evening meeting was in the large Academy Hall, which was crowded full, the members of the faculty occupying the platform. Prof. Cushing—a clergyman—the principal of the institution, is, I believe, thoroughly anti-slavery, and is bold in giving publicity to his sentiments.

While speaking of the Methodist clergy I may remark that, as regards the slavery question, they are in advance of those of other denominations, unless it be the Free-will Baptists or Wesleyans. With few exceptions they are right on the abstract question, and do not manifest that prejudice against Garrisonian Abolitionism that others do. In illustration of this I may add that, while the Methodist clergy have generally attended our meetings, I do not remember that, with one exception, any of the Orthodox have been present. They are afraid of their own shadow, and they tremble at the thought of doing or saying anything that would incur the displeasure of their own parishioners. These, generally, are bitterly opposed to "Garrisonianism and Woman's Rights." Horror-stricken are they at the idea of women speaking in public.

This reminds me of our next meeting, which was at Bradford. Here I was informed by a good anti-slavery friend that some of the class referred to above were very much relieved by the fact that we were not obliged to ask for any of the Churches in the village, since there is a very large Town Hall open to such meetings. This was densely filled with hearers. Why the Congregational clergyman was not one of the number, I can only conjecture. I do not know a man in all Vermont more thoroughly anti-slavery than he. He has written considerably on the subject; and you may have seen his able and masterly reply to Dr. Lord's letter to Northern ministers. A most worthy man, and indeed superior in many respects, I regard him as a very fair example of the Orthodox clergy of Vermont, and, withal, an intimate personal friend of the writer. Yet Rev. Mr. McKeen was not at our meeting. He may have been *necessarily* absent, however. But I am informed by one of his own parishioners that not a few of them are Fillmore Whigs—thorough conservatives and rabid Union-savers. How hard for any man, who is not fool-hardy, to forget such a fact, or to disregard it. How many Cheevers or Beechers, Tyngs or Conways, can you find? And do you not suppose that there are many pastors among the Congregationalists, superior to the Cheevers and Beechers in many respects, who are not able to rise above the fear of the taunt of "political preaching"?

In fine, let me say—there is great need of more light in Vermont. The American Society is misunderstood far more than misrepresented. The people, not a few, think it the embodiment of all that is hateful in infidelity. No effort has been made to disabuse the public mind. Great prejudice has been excited, mainly through the cotton press, partly political and partly religious. But a better day is coming, may we may not hope? One thing I have fully proved. The reading classes, generally, are willing to hear almost anything, if truthful and not abusive, on this question. The strongest disunion sentiments are listened to without any manifestations of displeasure; and our motto—"No Union with Slaveholders"—meets with growing favour.

Yours, for the slave, N. R. J.

Topsham, Vt., Oct. 3.

## *LETTER FROM A. M. POWELL.*

COLLINS, Erie Co., N. Y., Oct. 1st, 1857.

*To the Editors of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

FROM Canandaigua, at which place my last to you was written, I went, *viâ* the steamer Joseph Wood, to the south part of the County (Ontario), to lecture in South Bristol and at Naples.

The Canandaigua Lake—a very beautiful sheet of water—is one of a number which contribute largely to the interest and beauty of the physical geography of Western and Central New York. A sail on board the little steamer is very pleasant, except that the boat, though very small, has, in imitation of larger ones, the very disagreeable and unfortunate accompaniment of "The Bar," and its legitimate effect was quite too apparent in the conduct of some of the passengers. May we soon have a revival of the good spirit of "Washingtonianism"—and may Abolitionists take due warning from the present conditon of the Temperance movement and beware of consigning the slaves' cause to the unmerciful tenderness of unprincipled politicians, and of yielding up the working oar of moral "agitation."

In South Bristol I lectured in a Presbyterian church, and had a very good hearing, though the weather was exceedingly unfavourable. Those who attended were baptized in the annual equinoctial drenching. Elder Woodruff, the pastor, participated very cordially in the exercises, avowing himself an out-and-out Abolitionist. On Monday evening, Sept. 21, I lectured in Naples, in the Hall of Science. The audience was large, intelligent and very attentive. I endeavoured to show that the Union—of which the President of the recent State Republican Convention, at Syracuse, says "IT CONSTITUTES THE ONLY SECURITY WHICH SLAVERY POSSESSES"—is a fearfully wicked conspiracy against liberty, and ought, therefore, to be immediately and forever broken up. The announcement of the approaching Disunion Convention, to be held at Cleveland, Ohio, was received with a good degree of interest. At the close of the lecture, Wm. Marks and Shotwell Powell, of Naples, made additional remarks in an uncompromising anti-slavery spirit.

The Hon. E. B. Pottle, member of Congress elect, resides at Naples. As a *man*, he is, in sympathy, a warm friend of the slave, and regards Union-saving as quite an unprofitable business; as a *politician*, he is committed to the Republican party. His friends count upon his taking a "bold stand" when he shall enter upon his duties in the next Congress.

I attended, last week, the annual meeting of the "Friends of Progress" of Western New York, held in the Friends' meeting-house, North Collins (Erie Co.). The attendance was large, estimated at from fifteen hundred to two thousand persons on Sunday. The discussions were spirited and ultra, upon a variety of topics involving the interests of the human race. The first day an attempt was made, strange to say, to ignore the slavery question or to rule it out of the meeting! The proposition was most emphatically rejected, and, after earnest discussion, the meeting adopted a strong Testimony on Slavery, which I trust will, in due time, find a place in THE STANDARD. I should think it still stronger if it made a more explicit and pointed avowal of the Disunion doctrine. Among the speakers from abroad were Wm. Wells Brown, Giles B. Stebbins, Susan B. Anthony, Philip D. Moore, A. J. Davis, Mary F. Davis and Aaron M. Powell.

I have lectured in this place for two evenings past. S. B. Anthony participated also in the first meeting. Wm. Wells Brown is lecturing in adjoining towns. We are all to meet in a Convention at Collins Centre, on Saturday and Sunday next.

We had a good meeting last evening, in which I had the coöperation of WILLIAM LLOYD, an Abolitionist of Bucks Co., Pa., and GEORGE W. TAYLOR, of North Collins. Mr. Taylor is a young man of decided talent, of clear moral perceptions, is an impressive speaker, and gives promise of much future usefulness.

The prospect is very good for our meetings in this portion of the State. A. M. P.

## *NOTE FROM THE REV. C. W. DENISON.*

*To the Editors of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

GENTLEMEN: Allow me a brief space in your columns. I am sure you would not do me, or any one, intentional injury.

Permit me to assure you, sincerely and earnestly, that my early hostility to slavery, in all its forms, has never changed. In the progress of events I have taken my method of carrying on a righteous war against it. You have taken yours. Others have taken theirs. But no man, nor woman, nor angel, nor God himself ever knew me to do, or say, or even *think* aught in favour of slavery.

All my positions in this direction have been and are taken understandingly—with no other object in view than the utter overthrow and extinction of human bondage. Of this God is my judge, whatever may be the judgment of man; and the records of the future will make it appear.

Some of my anti-slavery movements have been, still are, and probably always will be of a *secret* nature. In this I differ from you; for your standing measure is—"WITHOUT CONCEALMENT." But in this, as in other things, may I not differ from you, and be equally honest with you? If slavery is mining, may not liberty counter-mine? In the destruction of a wide-spread and deeply-seated wrong, is it not sometimes best to assail it unawares? I do not say that we may do evil that good may come—but may we not employ extraneous influences to accomplish benevolent purposes? May we not coalesce with certain men, on certain measures, in aid of liberty, without endorsing all their views? If the propagandists of slavery change front, may not we, as the supporters of the anti-slavery standard, change ours? I hold we may. You differ from me—and here we part.

Conscious that my conduct, secret as well as public, will stand the test of time and the scrutiny of eternity, I cheerfully abide such censures as you, gentlemen, and others of my former friends, may think proper to cast upon me. CHARLES W. DENISON.

New York, Oct. 3d, 1857.

ANOTHER STATEMENT by the Rev. Mr. Sawyer, in reply to Col. Netherland's attempt at self-defence, will be found on the first page. It casts new light upon the cases of cruelty to slaves which have lately attracted so much attention, and shows that Mr. Sawyer's first Statement, so far from being exaggerated, failed to present the matter in its worst light.

WENDELL PHILLIPS is to lecture in Concert Hall, in Philadelphia, on the 11th and 12th of November. His first address is to be that famous one on the "Lost Arts"—itself a new-found art of making one of the most obnoxious Abolitionists in the country its most popular lecturer. On the 12th his subject is to be slavery.

## CALL FOR A NORTHERN CONVENTION.

Whereas it must be obvious to all that the American Union is constantly becoming more and more divided, by Slavery, into two distinct and antagonistic nations, between whom harmony is impossible, and even ordinary intercourse is becoming dangerous;

And whereas Slavery has now gained entire control over the three branches of our National Government, Executive, Judicial and Legislative; has so interpreted the Constitution as to deny the right of Congress to establish freedom even in the Territories, and by the same process has removed all legal protection from a large portion of the people of the free States, and has inflicted, at many times and places, outrages far greater than those which our fathers rose in arms to repel;

And whereas there seems no probability that the future will, in these respects, be different from the past, under existing State relations;

The undersigned respectfully invite their fellow-citizens of the Free States to meet in Convention, at Cleveland, Ohio, on WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, October 28th and 29th, 1857, to consider the practicability, probability and expediency of a separation of the Free and Slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require.

*Maine.*

| | |
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| John R. Banton, | Peter Libbey, |
| William Cushman, | Isaac J. Merrill, |
| J. B. Drew, | Peter L. Morrill, |
| John Hanscom, | John O. Parmer, |
| S. S. Henderson, | M. F. Whittier, |
| James Mountfort, | Sarah H. Southwick, |
| Newell A. Foster, | Caroline Foster, |
| Joseph P. Fessenden, | Elizabeth Mountfort, |
| Frank Wiggin, | Mary S. Mountfort, |
| Ashbel Chaplin, | Anne S. Mountfort, |
| Ansel S. Fitch, | Mary E. Lefavor. |

*New Hampshire.*

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| A. Bronson Alcott, | R. K. Gould, |
| Alonzo Allen, | B. F. Hutchinson, |
| Benjamin Chase, | Geo. O. Paul, |
| Jehiel Claflin, | Jos. Philbrick, |
| P. B. Coggswell, | Nathaniel White, |
| John D. Norton, | R. W. Higgins, |
| Levi Pickard, | Nathaniel Esty, |
| Alonzo Knight, | Elhanan Winchester, |
| Solomon Clement, | Daniel Aldrich, |
| George P. Robinson, | Gaius Hall, |
| Thomas L. Kennard, | Lucy Rickard, |
| Wm. P. L. Badger, | Almira Allen, |
| George K. Smith, | Clarissa G. Olds, |
| James H. Swett, | Lucy M. Tilton, |
| John Mills, | E. S. Preston, |
| Samuel Ames, | Abby P. Browne, |
| Henry Gould, | Abby Alcott, |
| Wm. Boynton, | Sarah A. Higgins, |
| John K. Walker, | A. D. Tasker. |

*Vermont.*

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| Alonzo Blair, | N. R. Johnston, |
| T. S. Bliss, | Cromwell Leonard, |
| W. H. H. Claflin, | Chauncey Richardson, |
| John Gilliss, | Joshua Ross, |
| William Hayward, | S. M. Seaver, |
| Thomas N. Bradley, | Parker McNiece, |
| Alonzo Blair, | John E. Palmer, |
| Reuben Perkins, | Samuel B. Nichols, |
| Milo Durfey, 2d, | L. G. Bigelow, |
| Samuel Robinson, | Rollin Bradley, |
| G. C. Hayward, | Wm. Weston, |
| D. F. Bolster, | T. Bigelow, |
| Benjamin Child, | Wm. Dow, |
| Asa Divoll, | Hannah Raymond, |
| Samuel Mills, | Jane D. Richardson. |

*Massachusetts.*

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|---|---|
| William I Bowditch, | Elnathan Davis, |
| Thomas Earle, | Nathaniel Hall, |
| Chauncey Clarke, | Charles F. Hovey, |
| C. H. Codman, | John P. Jewett, |
| James N. Buffum, | Frank B. Sanborn, |
| Lewis Ford, | Hiram Brown, Jr., |
| Micah H. Pool, | Newland M. Merritt, |
| Philip R. Merriam, | Ebenezer White, |
| Alvan Howes, | Rufus Rockwood, |
| Samuel Philbrick, | J. M. Wiley, |
| W. L. Burt, | J. Q. Adams, |
| D. R. Samson, | Samuel May, Jr., |
| G. E. Child, | B. Carter, |
| Thomas Martin, | George H. Locke, |
| Thomas A. Chandler, | John Nesmith, |
| Charles Follen, | Henry Abbott, |
| George Atkinson, | Jonathan Buffum, |
| Richard Kingman, | David Tenny, |
| F. H. Dawes, | N. H. Whiting, |
| Joseph Merrill, | H. A. Philbrook, |
| W. F. Endicott, | D. W. Aldrich, |
| Richard Clap, | Arza Bardwell, |
| Ira Adams, | Wesley Barry, |
| William Spooner, | William Ashby, |
| Benjamin Snow, Jr., | S. E. Bridgman, |
| P. S. Kimball, | Luther M. King, |
| Spencer Hodges, | Stillman Smith, |
| Calvin Grover, | Nathaniel Harlow, |
| Samuel Bent, | Samuel Johnson, Jr., |
| John Sawin, | Amory L. Babcock, |
| B. L. Emerson, | Sylvester C. Fay, |
| Moses Wright, | Moses Sawin, |
| William Fearing, | Jefferson Church, |
| Calvin H. Young, | A. S. Currier, |
| John Cushing, | Wm. H. Knapp, |
| William Tower, | Charles C. Breck, |
| William B. Harrington, | Rebecca T. P. Collins, |
| Erastus Forbush, | Rosamond S. Pool, |
| Samuel Henry, | Nancy L. Howes, |
| Eli Cross, | Charlotte Roberts, |
| Urbane Hitchcock, | Fanny Staples, |
| Charles H. White, | Harriette M. Carlton, |
| Joseph Crafts, | Martha Clapp, |
| William Tucker, | Rebecca C. Trask, |
| Effingham L. Capron, | Mary Willey, |
| Caleb Capron, | Cynthia C. Pomeroy, |
| Alfred Wyman, | Mary May, |
| John K. Crane, | Frances H. Drake, |
| Noah Fifield, | Nancy H. Abbott, |
| C. W. Mellen (Rev.), | Sophia Fay, |
| Elias Richards, | Maria W. Chapman, |
| Elias Crocker, | Hannah C. Fifield. |

*Rhode Island.*

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| J. C. Brown, | D. B. Harris, |
| Samuel B. Chase, | T. M. Hathaway, |
| John Helme Clarke, | A. R. Janes, |
| Duty Evans, | A. Parmenter, |
| Asa Fairbanks, | J. Towne, |
| E. H. Perry, | B. F. Lawton, |
| William Atkinson, | Samuel B. Chace, |
| Benjamin Cutler, | Jonathan Chase, |
| W. F. Pabodie, | William A. Sherman, |
| William Aplin, | James H. Chace, |
| Stephen W. Remington, | Jane Wilkinson, |
| Nathaniel Phillips, | Nancy Haswill, |
| Charles Aplin, | Elizabeth S. Weeks, |
| Josiah F. Everett, | Anna T. Fairbanks, |
| Samuel Whipple, | S. T. Janes, |
| Darius P. Lawton, | Elizabeth B. Chace, |
| Albert E. Macomber, | Dorcas Harmon. |

*Connecticut.*

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|---|---|
| J. B. Barnes, | Philip Scarborough, |
| Eddy Harding, | Riley Stillman, |
| J. C. Hebard, | Geo. W. Walbridge, |
| Merrill Humphrey, | J. B. Whitcomb, |
| A Pettibone, | J. D. Wright, |
| Edwin Scarborough, | Albert Austin, |
| Perrin Scarborough, | Alexander Snow, |
| M. H. Williams, | W. Willman, |
| J. Kimball, | Maria S. Stetson, |
| Edward Allen, | M. E. Whitcomb, |
| Jonathan B. Bodwell, | F. N. Rust, |
| John H. Thompson, | Louisa Chapin, |
| Rollin O. Humphrey, | Elizabeth R. Goodwin, |
| H. N. Rust, | B. Chalenor, |
| Abel Camp, | E. J. Humphrey, |
| James Humphrey, | Caroline H. Camp, |
| Peter Curtiss, | Jason Barton. |

*New York.*

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| James A. Burr, | O. Johnson, |
| William Henry Burr, | S. J. May, |
| J. F. Cleveland, | Isaac Post, |
| S. H. Gay, | Robert Owen, |
| H. W. Gilbert, | L. Wetmore, |
| S. B. Stone, | John Ketcham, |
| Andrew Pope, | Joseph Post, |
| Alfred Kinney, | Henry B. Lord, |
| George Myers, | David McCormick, |
| George Kirkland, | John Goodrich, |
| Herrold Webster, | George B. Vashon, |
| Calvin Brainerd, | John C. Porter, |
| John Wilbur, | Lewis Spaulding, |
| Henry Northup, | M. J. Smith, |
| Lewis Washburn, | Azariah Smith, |
| Francis M. Tobey, | Elias Smith, |
| Abel Thomas, | Thomas P. Nichols, |
| Richard Robbins, | James Boyle, |
| Levi West, | H. Morris Henry, |
| Levi Peet, | G. W. Benson, |
| Benjamin Philbrick, | Cornelius Bramhall, |
| Aaron M. Powell, | Valentine H. Hallock, |
| Augustus Angell, | Alson Brownson, |
| Townsend Powell, | L. L. Flower, |
| N. C. Hogeboom, | John Russell, |
| George Denning, | Elsie Smith, |
| Jacob Schultz, | Sarah Ann Dean, |
| S. G. Graff, | Thomas Cole, |
| Adin Morton, | Ira Comstock, |
| E. H. Schenck, | R. R. Chapin, |
| A. D. Bradley, | Thomas Barrow, |
| D. H. Browne, | Oliver Coleman, |
| John H. Crane, | Lucy Brownson, |
| John P. Dickinson, | Margaret Dean, |
| John W. Lyon, | Sylvester C. Haynes, |
| William Hanford, Jr., | Aaron Marsh, |
| Thomas Elliott, | Job Crapo, |
| H. Wilcox, | Elijah Moore, |
| Luke T. Merrill, | Miles B. Fenton, |
| George Cookingham, | Daniel Hitchings, |
| Mary Robbins, | J. K. Post, |
| Sophia Henry, | D. M. Anthony, |
| Caroline F. Putnam, | Thomas Hamilton, |
| Sallie Holley, | Jennie C. Post, |
| Mary B. Loines, | Susan B. Anthony, |
| Lizzie M. Powell, | Moses Tucker, |
| Deborah H. Macy, | Joseph A. Allen, |
| Eliza Ann Angell, | Alanson Thorpe, |
| Mary E. Van Buren, | Silas Town. |

*New Jersey.*

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| A. G. Campbell, | Rowland Johnson, |
| William Coates, | Seth H. Leap, |
| J. B. Grimes, | Benjamin Rulon, |
| J. P. Hutchinson, | Thomas B. Thorn, |
| Samuel S. James, | Philip Woolton, |
| William Phillips, | Thomas Casperson, |
| George M. Ely, | Leonard Sparks, |
| Marcus Evarts, | Joseph Haines, |
| Francis Phillips, | Frances Leap, |
| Lucy Stone, | Anna M. Black, |
| Emmett Quinn, | Louisa K. Gaskill, |
| Thomas J. Black, | Anna E. Gaskill, |
| David R. Black, | Mary Anna Black. |

*Pennsylvania.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Caleb C. Hood, | John Tillinghast, |
| W. W. Justice, | W. W. Walker, |
| Edward Paramor, | Charles P. Walton, |
| J. M. McKim, | John Whitely, |
| Robert Purvis, | Thomas Whitson, |
| Lauchland McIntosh, | Robert Dickey, |
| E. P. Townsend, | John Jay Porter, |
| G. B. White, | Isaac Lardner, |
| Milo A. Townsend, | C. St. John, |
| Talbot Townsend, | Milton Ayres, |
| Lydia Irish, | Simon Barnard, |
| Elizabeth Townsend, | Nelson J. Benedict, |
| Henry Bowman, | A. P. Swarthout, |
| Henry Brosius, | Abner Haines, |
| Caleb Greenfield, | Mary E. Hood, |
| Eli Hambleton, | John H. Anderson, |
| Joseph Nixon, | A. R. McClure, |
| Joseph Brockway, | John Todd, |
| Orlando Beldon, | Joshua Carter, |
| John Fidler, | J. G. Thompson, |
| Jeremiah Brockway, | L. Thompson. |

*Delaware.*

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| Samuel Page, | Milton Michener, |
| William H. Pennock, | S. D. Forbes. |

*Ohio.*

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| Abraham Brooke, | William F. Parker, |
| John DeGraw, | F. J. Reeve, |
| Joseph Heighton, | M. R. Robinson, |
| Robert Hiller, | Zaphna Stone, |
| Chester Nash, | Joshua Whinery, |
| Ezra Brannin, | David Galbreath, |
| M. Wilson, | Darius L. Oviatt, |
| Elizabeth Wilson, | Jacob Millisack, |
| Sarah Otis Ernst, | Abraham Allen. |

*Michigan.*

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| J. Carroll, | R. W. Melendy, |
| Edward Y. Cornell, | A. L. Power, |
| John E. Dey, | L. B. Russell, |
| Barton Durfee, | W. Weeks, |
| F. G. Hooker, | J. H. Woods, |
| Thomas Chandler, | Cyrus Fuller, |
| Richard Glazier, | Edwin Fuller, |
| Paul Geddes, | Lea W. Gauze. |

*Indiana.*

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| A. H. Buckman, | Harris Jenniss, |
| I. M. Frost, | Lemuel S. Jones, |
| William Hayward, | Thomas B. Morse, |
| Jehn Hiatt, | T. T. Puckett, |
| John Jay, | John M. Thornburgh, |
| B. G. Wright, | John S. Stafford. |

*Illinois.*

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| Moses Bishop, | F. Hoover, |
| C. B. Campbell, | John Phinney, |
| A. J. Grover, | A. R. Russell, |
| T. C. Haywood, | John S. Stafford, |
| A. S. Hoadley, | B. G. Wright. |

*Wisconsin.*

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| Alfred Aspinall, | D. H. Morgan, |
| Benjamin Bollard, | W. S. Ottman, |
| Lyman Brooks, | E. D. Phelps, |
| Joseph Doolittle, | Gilbert S. Skeel, |
| N. W. Martin, | J. M. Westover. |

*Iowa.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Elijah Busbby, | Lot Holmes, |
| Henry B. Clarke, | Edwin James, |
| J. P. Davis, | Benjamin D. Pierce, |
| O. Hambleton, | Edward Turner, |
| W. H. Hanna, | Cromwell Wilson. |

*Minnesota.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Benj. B. Beall, | H. M. Blakeslee. |
| A. E. Bemis, | J. Mortimer Hall, |
| N. M. Bemis, | P. Sherman, |
| O. C. Blakeslee, | Otis R. Spurr, |
| Henry Blakeslee, | J. M. Vining. |

☞ More than 6,400 names have been received.

NOTE. The unexpectedly large number of signatures to this call renders it impossible to print more than a few names from each State. It is evident that, by more systematic effort, the number might have been increased ten fold. As it is, however, it is not known that any Convention in the United States was ever summoned by so large a number of persons.

*Committee of Arrangements.*

THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, F. W. BIRD, DANIEL MANN, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.
JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, *Secretary.*

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THE [London] *Anti-Slavery Advocate* for October is at hand. The leading article is a timely letter from the Rev. Samuel May, Jr., to the editor, well adapted to enlighten British Abolitionists as to the aspects of the cause in the United States. The larger portion of this issue, however, is filled with extracts from Mr. Helper's work, perspicuously arranged under appropriate heads. We copy the following announcement, in which our readers generally will feel a lively interest.

THE REV. EDWARD MATHEWS.—If any man has laboured more abundantly of late years in England than the Rev. Edward Mathews, to stimulate and inform the public respecting American slavery, we have not heard of him. On his return, six years ago, to his native country, from a residence of seventeen years in America, he was taken by the hand, counselled, and supported by our honoured friend the late Mr. Estlin, to whom *The Anti-Slavery Advocate* owes its existence, and who was ever ready to assist with his friendship and brotherly sympathy all, without reference to sect or party, whom he believed to be honest promoters of that cause to whom his life was devoted. Having this confidence in Mr. Mathews, he nobly stood by his side when an attempt was made to discredit him by the late Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; and we believe that the subsequent personal history of the *soidisant* Abolitionists whom Mr. Scoble countenanced on that occasion, in opposition to Mr. Mathews, has amply justified the accustomed sagacity of Mr. Estlin.

Mr. Mathews's intimate acquaintance with the position of the religious bodies of the United States in connection with the anti-slavery cause, and his retentive and accurate memory have proved most valuable; and his industry and zeal, in exposing the pro-slavery position of the great Methodist Church in America, are acknowledged as they deserve in an article on that subject which we give in our present number from the columns of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

We understand from Mr. Mathews that he has been recalled to the United States by the denomination of anti-slavery Baptists with which he is connected, to resume his labours there; and he has requested us to intimate that if the committee of any anti-slavery association on this side of the Atlantic would wish for his services as a lecturer, during the short interval which will elapse before his departure, he will be glad to attend to their call. He further informs us, that as the import duty will prevent him from taking to the United States a tract which he has printed here, "The Shame and Glory of the American Baptists, or Slaveholders *versus* Abolitionists"; and "The Anti-Slavery Struggle"; a small sheet showing the connection of Methodism with slavery, he will take it as a favour if the friends of the slave will send him orders for them to 44 Broad Quay, Bristol.

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KANSAS ELECTION.—The election for the choice of members of the Territorial Legislature and of a Delegate to Congress took place in Kansas on the 5th inst. The returns afford evidence of the election of Marcus J. Parrott, the Free State candidate, to Congress; but it seems likely that, owing to the villanous apportionment whereby nearly half the people of the Territory were disfranchised, and to numerous frauds on the part of the Border Ruffian officials, the Slave Democracy will have complete control of the Legislature.

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APPOINTMENT.—MRS. FRANCES H. DRAKE, of Leominster, has been appointed by the Executive Committe a Colporteur of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and a Collecting Agent for the Anti-Slavery Tract Fund.

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## Summary.

"Pompey," said a good-natured gentleman to his coloured man, "I did not know till to-day you had been whipped last week." "Didn't you, massa?" replied Pompey, "I know'd it at the time."

A GOOD EXAMPLE.—A number of young ladies in Salem, having considered the state of the money-market and determined not to pay $10 or $20 for a winter bonnet, have set about making bonnets for themselves.—*Boston Traveller.*

Quaint old Fuller says, "Let him who expects one class of society to prosper in the highest degree, while the other is in distress, try whether one side of his face can smile while the other is pinched."

DISTRESS IN SHOE TOWNS.—The Newburyport *Herald* hears of considerable distress in the shoe towns of Essex Co. During the last week many hands were discharged in Lynn, and more will be next week. The winter prospects for the poor, hereabouts, are gloomy.

A chorister of a country Church lately made a sad mistake in the choice of a tune, there being a long *slur* in it, which came directly upon an unfortunate word, which produced a startling effect, namely:

"With reverence let the saints appear,
And bow-wow-wow before the Lord."

M. Kossuth, on a recent visit to Strathaven, was met by a procession of 4,000 people, who went two miles and a half out of the town, with bands and banners, to receive him. He addressed the multitude from a window of the Avondale Arms Hotel. Among the flags unfurled for the occasion was the identical one used at the battle of Drumclag, nearly two centuries ago.

BOUND FOR VIRGINIA.—Within the last week several shoemakers in Danvers have made small investments in Virginia lands, purchasing warrants for 200 acres at the rate of $1 per acre, and paying for them in shoes. The State of Virginia has, it is said, some 6,000,000 acres of unimproved land, part of it old and part new, lying west of the Alleghanies. The more northern section of this vast tract is the seat of Eli Thayer's enterprise. The purchasers of the warrants above referred to may locate anywhere outside of Thayer's domain. We are informed that several manufacturers in Haverhill, and one or two other towns of the County, have also bought warrants.—*Salem Gazette.*

A POEM.—The author of the following poem on a "Squirl" remarks that if the last line is a *little too long*, it is not his fault:

"The squirl am a nice bird,
And has a bushy tale,
He sometimes sits opon a lim,
And sometimes on a rale,
And gethers nut in the summer, so that his winter stock won't fail."

TERRIBLE DEATH OF AN AMERICAN LADY AT MONT BLANC.—A correspondent of the Manchester (England) *Guardian* gives an account of the ascent of Mont Blanc by a large party, among whom there were several Americans, one of whom, a young lady named Tralaway, slipped over an ice precipice and fell hundreds of feet into a fissure, where she must have been dashed to pieces.

PARENTAL ANTICIPATIONS.—Fond parent (to his son)—"Yes, New York is the place to get on in. Look at Jones; he started without a penny, and has lately failed for a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Of course, that's an extreme case, I don't expect you to do so well as that. Still, with honesty and industry, I see no reason why you should not, in the course of a few years, fail for fifty thousand dollars."

HOW MUCH IS A SHILLING?—The Washington *Star* of the 8th says that some days ago, a produce dealer in Washington sold a customer a half-peck of potatoes for a shilling, and, in taking his pay from a quarter dollar, returned twelve cents change. This the customer declined to receive, claiming thirteen cents as his due. A dispute ensued, which ended in the customer getting out a warrant for the odd cent, and, the case being tried, he recovered it.

PLAYING A GOOD JOKE.—A couple of Worcester Co. teamsters left their wagons to go ahead, a few days since, while they stopped to take a "snifter." Going on, afterwards, to overtake their teams, they found a wheel in the road, which they rolled down a steep hill, "just for fun." Coming up with their teams, they were chagrined to find one of them going on three wheels. They will restrain their humour in future.—*Springfield Republican.*

A woman's life was curiously preserved by her husband, in Staffordshire, lately, by the process of transfusion. She lay at the point of death, when, as a last resource, a vein was opened in her arm, and one in the arm of her husband, and as the blood flowed from the latter it was transmitted by suitable apparatus in the veins of the wife. After seventeen ounces had been thus injected, the pulse became perceptible, and the colourless lips reddened, the glassy eye brightened, and she thankfully said, "I am better." The case has progressed very favourably, and the woman is recovering.

A HARD HEAD.—The Tampa (Fla.) *Peninsula* of the 5th, under the head "Accident," relates that on Monday of this week, while Capt. Parkill was returning to his camp from this place, the horse ridden by his servant (a strapping negro man) took fright and threw the rider. The head of the negro, in his descent, struck the leg of Capt. Parkill's horse, breaking it, when it (the negro's head) glanced and struck a tree on the side of the road, peeling off the bark for several feet. The negro was stupefied for an instant, but received no injury! It is supposed that he belonged to the hardshell persuasion.

It is gossipped that one of those merchants of Boston who failed last week, is blessed with a wife who for six months could not find a carpet in Boston that would satisfy her fastidious taste. She wanted one of a pattern such as nobody among her acquaintances possessed, and higher in cost. She would lay abed from morning to noon, and from noon to night, waiting for the appearance of her dressing maid, rather than perform a service so menial as that of dressing herself. With such a help meet, is a merchant justified in failing?

The celebrated Dighton rock has been purchased by Neils Aragen, for the purpose of rescuing it from oblivion. The hieroglyphics upon it are in the ancient language of Norway—a country of which Mr. Aragen is a native—and a parchment copy of the inscription has been discovered in Norway and placed in the Museum of Antiquities at Copenhagen. It has been pretty correctly ascertained that the inscriptions date as far back as the tenth century, and that they were made by some Norwegian immigrants who returned, soon after, to their own country.

DAMAGES CLAIMED FOR THE NEGROES HUNG BY THE MOB.—Legal action was yesterday instituted in the Jefferson Circuit Court against the City of Louisville, for the value of the slaves George, Bill and Jack, the murderers of the Joyce family. George and Bill, it will be remembered, were hung by the infuriated mob, and Jack cut his own throat in jail, to escape the fate which befell his companions. For their horrible crime $1,500 each is claimed as damages by the owners of the negroes. This suit will be of interest and importance, involving, as it does, some delicate principles of law.—*Louisville Courier.*

ONE BENEFIT OF THE "CRISIS."—Among the many luxuries killed off by the financial pressure is Gen. Walker's Nicaragua invasion scheme. Some of the Southern papers still speak of his raising 10,000 men and transporting them to Central America. We should like to know how he is going to do it in the present state of the money-market. It would be cheaper to buy Nicaragua and done with it. But the crisis has probably knocked the life out of the whole scheme, and made Walker for some time to come one of the most hopeless of the many "lame ducks."—*Boston Journal.*

A FAMILIAR VOICE FROM THE TOMBS.—At a public dinner following the Essex County Agricultural Fair in Newburyport, Mass., on the 1st inst., that defunct politician, Caleb Cushing, made another spasmodic effort to turn round in his coffin. Having been invited to deliver some remarks befitting so festal an occasion, he alluded to the Kansas difficulty as a "petty frontier squabble" unworthy of the national importance which had been given to it. This allusion (says the Boston *Transcript*) was received with mingled applause and hisses, showing that a large portion of the audience did not regard the matter so lightly as the ex-Attorney-General.

LOLA MONTEZ ON FEMALE OLD AGE.—This remarkable woman appeared at Brewster's Hall last night with a lecture on "Beautiful Women." She had a large audience—although but few of them were ladies. She was very modestly attired in a white muslin dress, and delivered a very prettily written lecture. Her elocution was very fine. Every word and syllable was pronounced in a voice as clear as the ring of silver, and as melodious as the warble of a bird. She is a woman of rather small stature—but full of life, and of graceful expression in every motion. It is apparent, however, that for a *young* belle, she is getting to be *elderly*—and she seemed conscious of that fact when she uttered, with so much pathos, "We *all* do fade as the leaf."—*New Haven Palladium, Oct. 2.*

A meeting was held at Waukegan lately to consider the necessity of organizing for the dissolution of the Union. The gentlemen composing that meeting are evidently not posted. The Union is already dissolved. It was formed for the purpose of securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity, and we conclude when the purpose for which the partnership was entered into is abolished, the partnership is practically dissolved, however the semblance may be kept up. What we want is not meetings to *dissolve* the Union, but meetings to *restore* it, which can be done only by ejecting the present party from power, and bringing the Government back to first principles.—*Wisconsin Free Democrat.*

Little Carrie Perkins was a great pet of mine; indeed, she was the sunbeam of the house. She was only three years old, but she had a strangely mature way of talking sometimes, that made her seem very interesting. Every night I went regularly to her room for a good-night kiss; and I shall never forget how sweetly she used to look in her little night dress, as she knelt down by her mother's side and said "Our Father," nor how reverently she used to fold her little hands at the close, and say: "Good night, dear God, and please take good care of little Carrie." "Why, Carrie," said her mother, the first time she added this to her prayer, "You shouldn't talk to God so." "Shouldn't I?" said the little prattler, "I love God, and why shouldn't I say good night to him before I go to sleep, just as I do to you and Aunt Annie?" Her mother smiled thoughtfully, but only replied by kissing her, and always after that she repeated her good night petition.—*Knickerbocker.*

RESULT OF SWALLOWING A WOOLEN STOCKING.—In reading your report of the Boston Society of Natural History's last session in August, I observed that Dr. Head exhibited a large, smooth and hard hair-ball, six inches in diameter, taken from the stomach of a healthy ox in Texas. This reminds me of an incident which occurred some time ago in the neighbouring town of Sherborn. A fine, large ox was taken sick, refused to eat, and, in spite of all remedies resorted to, soon died. At a "post-mortem examination," a hard, smooth ball, of the size of a large apple, and resembling in consistence, as well as in colour, a piece of granite rock, was taken from his stomach; and on breaking it with a hammer—for cut it you could not—it proved to be a woolen stocking which the animal had swallowed, and, in its desperate efforts to digest, had rolled over and over, and finally compressed into that rock-like ball. Nothing could give a better idea of the tremendous power of muscular action in an animal of that size.—*Bost. Traveller, Oct. 6.*

JOHN MITCHELL AT THE SOUTH.—While the "Irish Patriot" was on his late visit to New York, some not very flattering remarks concerning him appeared in the Knoxville (Tenn.) *Register.* On his return, Mitchell met the editor of the *Register*, John M. Fleming, and undertook to inflict a caning upon his person. Fleming was unarmed, but resisted with his fists, etc., until interrupted by the police, when he armed himself, and soon again met Mitchell, denouncing him as a ruffian, a scoundrel, a highway-assassin and murderer at heart, and an infamous coward. Mitchell deemed "discretion the better part of valour," and withdrew. The *Register* republishes the article at which Mitchell took offence, and the editor says, evidently in no amiable mood: "I hesitate not to repeat my denunciation and brand him as a miserable scoundrel, and in doing so, I fear only that he may shoot me through a window at night, or stab me, covertly, in the dark."

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY ABOLITIONIZED.—Notwithstanding the Tract Society, through its executive officers, has consented to preach an emasculated Gospel in the South, it is looked upon with disfavour by some of the leaders of public opinion in the slave States. So, too, we find that the most conservative of Northern journals, organs of the cotton interest, are regarded by the ablest Southern journals as unsafe, dangerous, and not to be countenanced. Even the Colonization Society has not escaped the suspicions of these guardians of the precious institution of Human Slavery. *The* (Richmond) *South*, in a spirited leader, attacks this ancient and time-honoured Society, which has heretofore had its best friends among slaveholders, and characterizes it as an "efficient agency of Abolitionism." It would uproot the Society—would abate it "without delay."—*National Era.*

The Christian community will be much shocked at the announcement that the Corresponding Secretary of the American Sunday School Union, at Philadelphia, Frederick W. Porter, is discovered to be a defaulter, having swindled the Society to the amount of $90,000 already discovered, and probably a considerable additional amount not yet known. He has been Secretary of the Society for thirty years, during all which time he has been allowed to sign notes for the association and manage its finances, without any particular supervision, and has been in the habit of drawing money in the name of the Society and using it himself. The maturing of a note during his illness, the other day, led to an examination of the accounts of the Society, and a discovery of frauds to the extent mentioned. During all the years that these frauds have proceeded, his monthly statements have shown a clean record, but it is evident that there has been a gross neglect of proper scrutiny on the part of the managers of the Society. Mr. Porter is a quiet, prepossessing man, well advanced in years, and the exposure of his dishonesty is received with surprise and pain.

EXTENDED ARRANGEMENTS FOR PROCURING EUROPEAN NEWS.—In consequence of the temporary failure of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable, the New York Associated Press have decided to employ a substantial news yacht at Newfoundland, for the purpose of boarding, off Cape Race, all the steamers from Liverpool, Southampton, Havre, Bremen, Glasgow, &c., and in this enterprise—so important to the whole public of the United States and the British American Provinces—they hope to receive the hearty co-operation of all the owners and commanders of the several steamship lines now established. If the Press should be seconded in this arrangement by the commanders of the steamers, there is no reason to doubt but that we shall be able to obtain the news from a large majority of the steamers passing within ten or fifteen miles of Cape Race, and by availing ourselves of the New York and Newfoundland Telegraph Line, which is kept in admirable order, we shall be able to spread the European news before our readers in about six or eight days from the time it leaves the English shores.

The news yacht—a substantial, well manned schooner of about 100 tons—will be stationed ten miles due south of the Cape Race light, and will carry a red flag, with a black ball in its centre. At night the yacht will display two bold lights, and at short intervals will send up sky-rockets. Should the yacht, from any temporary cause, be removed from her regular station, as above, commanders are nevertheless requested to throw over the news parcel as near as possible at the point indicated, in the hope that the same may be subsequently picked up in season to make the intelligence valuable to us.

It is understood that Lord Napier, the British Minister, will soon enter upon the proposed negotiation with General Cass, of an international copyright treaty. The basis of the Convention and its chief point will undoubtedly be simply an arrangement of a moderate Tariff for the benefit of the authors of each country, upon every copy of their works published in the other.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

A MODEL MAYOR.—Sometimes it is the misfortune of a city to have an ass for Mayor. Such was the case about twenty-five years ago with a certain city, which it would be impolitic not to say impolite, for us to name in this connection. He was so ignorant that the wags sent a book-peddler to him with English grammars immediately after his election; and when he declared he had no use for the book, the peddler said, "Everybody tells me you must have it and study it too." He came into office, and took his chair in stately dignity. In a few minutes the clerk laid before him a paper, which the Mayor was requested to endorse as one that had passed under his eye. The clerk remarked: "It is only necessary that you write your initials upon it." "My *nishuls*," said the Mayor, "what's my *nishuls?*" Now it so happened that P. was the first letter of both the Mayor's names, and the clerk very innocently replied; "Oh, sir, merely write two P's upon the back of this paper." His Honour the Mayor took a quill in his trembling hand, and, with the perspiration on his brow, wrote "TOO PEZE," and the document is on file in the office unto this day!—*Philadelphia Press.*

SPURGEON AND SLAVERY.—An American minister called upon Mr. Spurgeon, and said, in the conversation, that he had a congregation in the States of 3,000 people. Spurgeon: And have you blacks in your congregation? Jonathan: Oh, yes. And do you all worship together, or have you partitions and curtains? Oh, the blacks are behind a curtain. And do you take the Lord's Supper with the blacks behind a curtain? Oh, yes. Now, sir, do you know what a monomaniac is? Oh, yes. Well, sir, I'm a monomaniac—a monomaniac on the subject of slavery. (And Spurgeon dashed his hand into his pocket, and, bringing out his penknife, opened it.) Yes, sir, I'm a perfect monomaniac. I've no control over myself, sir; and if you stay here ten minutes longer, I may put this knife into your hypocritical bosom. So I warn you. Be off, sir! be off! I feel it rising in me. Be off, I say! (And he hustled Jonathan to the door, nervously handling his knife all the while.) "And did you really mean to stick the fellow?" said the friend to whom he related the story. "Why, no," said he, "perhaps not quite that; but I'm going to America before long, and I wanted them to know, before I go, that they won't humbug me about slavery."—*Gateshead Observer.*

FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.—The Introductory Lecture in the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania was delivered to a large audience at the College building on Arch street, below Seventh, on Thursday afternoon, by Professor Sylvester Birdsell, M. D. We were gratified to notice the evidence of such general interest in this institution as the attendance evinced. The professors informed us that, notwithstanding the great financial pressure, the prospect for students was never so good as at the present time.

The well-known private and professional character of the faculty, and the thoroughness with which they instruct students, is giving this institution and its graduates the confidence of the medical profession and the public. The old cry of quackery against all female medical students and colleges is fast vanishing; and, however reluctant at first, the "profession" will be forced to acknowledge the right of colleges to teach, and women to practise the healing art.

We are happy to learn that Professor Harvey, who recently resigned with a view of leaving the city, has been re-appointed as Professor of Chemistry, and will remain connected with the College.—*Phil. Woman's Advocate.*

EARTHQUAKE AT ST. LOUIS.—Two shocks of an earthquake were felt yesterday morning in this city and vicinity of more violence than are usual in this latitude. The first shock occurred about five minutes past 4 o'clock, and was preceded by a loud, continuous noise, like thunder or the roar of artillery. The earth then commenced shaking, and the houses seemed to rock from east to west. After a pause of eight or ten minutes the second shock came on, but was much less violent than the first. Deeming the house we were in—a tall, narrow five-story building, and we in the *fifth*—unsafe, we soon found our way to the ground, in Georgia costume, when we observed that the sky presented a singular appearance; an unusual ring was around the moon, and a peculiar fog hung close to the earth. A gentleman informed us that he saw a very brilliant meteor about the time of the first shock. Whether these signs had anything to do with the earthquake we leave others to determine.

Earthquakes, if we may believe the history of the rocks, have been no unusual things in this vicinity in ages past. And, not to go back to antiquity, many of our oldest citizens well remember the terrible earthquake that occurred at New Madrid in 1811, when that village was partially destroyed, and a large section of that part of the State sunk and submerged, rendering an act of Congress necessary to grant other lands to the settlers in place of those that were destroyed. For many years after the occurrence the inhabitants experienced violent shocks periodically, and emigrants were afraid to settle in that quarter. After a while, however, they became used to them, and whenever one happened they would remark, "It is only an earthquake," and go about their business.—*St. Louis Leader, 9th inst.*

MURDER BY A SLAVE.—About 7 o'clock on Saturday morning last, September 26th, Mr. James T. Ponts, living about twelve miles north of this place, and near Mount Zion meeting-house, was murdered by a negro man, Joe, about eighteen years old, belonging to Mr. William Robinson. Mr. Ponts had Joe in his employ for the year and on Friday had sent him to the woods to make rails. Returning that evening he told Mr. P. he had made a certain number. Next morning (Saturday) he went to the woods with the negro and found that he had told him a falsehood as to the number, whereupon Mr. P. expressed his determination to chastise him. Nothing of the kind, however, was attempted at the time, and nothing more said about it. Mr. P. proceeded to assist the negro in splitting a large log at which he was at work. After a time he became fatigued and sat down to rest. While in this position, the negro, picking his opportunity, struck Mr. P. on the head with the poll of the axe, knocking him down. In a short time he gave evidences of returning consciousness, whereupon the murderer gave him a second blow with the axe, killing him outright. He then placed the body upon Mr. P.'s saddle-horse and took it a half a mile distant into the woods, and threw it under some brush to conceal it. After this he returned to his work. Mr. P. not returning at night, his family became uneasy, and some of the neighbours suspecting foul play at once arrested Joe, who next morning confessed the crime and told where he had secreted the body. The murderer is now in our County jail awaiting his trial, which, we suppose, will be very soon. His doom is certain.—*Missouri Statesman.*

CLAIRVOYANCE. — Our (*Tribune's*) Hartford correspondent recently told a capital story of Medical Clairvoyance, considered from the anti-clairvoyant stand-point. The last *Spiritual Telegraph* tells another Connecticut clairvoyant story, which is good of its kind, though from the other side of the house. We give it without avouching its authenticity, as follows:

"Dr. A. C. Stiles of Bridgeport, Conn., claims to have, from a boy, possessed the faculty of perceiving, by a clairvoyant sense, the interior condition of the human system, pointing out its local and general diseases, &c. In his medical practice he has sometimes given diagnoses of the diseases of distant persons by holding a lock of their hair in his hand. In order to put his pretensions to the *experimentum crucis*, Mr. William Clarke of Westville, Conn., cut off a lock of hair from an ox that appeared to be ailing. The hair was taken from under the ox's chin, and so nearly resembled human hair as not to be distinguishable from it by any ordinary observation. This, without any intimation as to where he obtained it, he forwarded in a letter to Dr. Stiles with a request that he should give a diagnosis of the condition of the patient. Dr. Stiles received the letter, examined the hair, and as the result of his impressions wrote substantially as follows: 'As for your ox, I would advise you to slaughter him, especially as I perceive that he is fat. He will not be able to work much more in consequence of a blow which he has received across the back, which has both injured his kidney and the spine.' Mr. C. accordingly killed his ox, and found in one of the kidneys and in the spine the evident marks of the injury which he had received from a heavy blow or contusion."

THE IDLERS.—[Extract from Theodore Parker's sermon on the Hard Times.]—Then there are the idlers. In the town of Somewhere lives Mr. Manygirls. He is a toilsome merchant, his wife a hard-working housekeeper. Once they were poor, now ruinously rich. They have seven daughters, whom they train up in utter idleness. They are all do-nothings. They spend much money, but not in works of humanity, not even in elegant accomplishments, in painting, dancing, music and the like, so paying in spiritual beauty what they take in material means. They never read nor sing; they are know-nothings, and only walk in vain show, as useless as a ghost, and as ignorant as the block on which their bonnets are made. Now these seven "ladies" (as the newspapers call the poor things, so insignificant and helpless) are not only idle, earn nothing, but they consume much. What a load of finery is on their shoulders and heads and necks. Mr. Manygirls hires many men and women to wait on his daughters' idleness, and these servants are withdrawn from the productive work of the shop or the farm, and set to the unproductive work of nursing these seven great grown-up babies. On the other side of the way, the Hon. Mr. Manyboys has seven sons, who are the exact match of the merchant's daughters—rich, idle, some of them dissolute—debauchery coming before their beard—all useless, earning nothing, spending much and wasting more. Their only labour is to kill time, and in Summer they emigrate from pond to pond, from lake to lake, having a fishing line with a worm at one end and a fool at the other. These are the first families in Somewhere. Their idleness is counted pleasure. Six of these sons will marry, and five, perhaps, of Mr. Manygirl's daughters, and what families they will found, to live on the toil of their grandfather's bones until a commercial crisis, or the wear and tear of time has dissipated their fortune, and they are forced, reluctantly, to toil.

A NEW GRIEVANCE FOR SLAVEHOLDERS.—The following letter, from a very reliable and respectable gentleman, will, we trust, cause increased circumspection on the part of those who purchase slaves from traders. It will be remembered that the murder of Mr. McMillan, in Memphis, by Bolton, grew out of the exposure of the fact that Bolton had sold, as a slave for life, a negro who was to be free in a few years. We have no doubt that thousands of negroes are sold annually in our State, in direct contravention of a very stringent law, and if one or two striking examples were made, the effect would unquestionable prove salutary.

STEAMER UNITED STATES AID,
YAZOO RIVER, Tuesday, Sept. 22, 1857.

DEAR SIR: What do you think of a *Canadian negro* having lately been sold at Vicksburg? Such has really been the case. About ten days ago I purchased a negro man from Gwin & Alexander, of Vicksburg, and since doing so, I have met with a gentleman who knew the negro in St. Louis, and he has given me the following information relative to him. It appears that this negro belonged to the editor of one of the St. Louis newspapers; that he ran off about five years ago, and made his way to Canada, where he married a fugitive negro girl from Kentucky, located in Canada and pursued his profession as barber there.

The owner in St. Louis learned last winter where his boy was. He employed a fine, *dashing, lordly* looking young man in St. Louis to visit the town in Canada where his negro boy was, and to represent himself as an English lord, and to employ the negro, if possible, to travel in the northern part of the United States, as a servant and barber to his lordship, at the rate of $180 per month. The plan succeeded. This young English lord from St. Louis went to Canada, met the boy, and employed him as servant, as stated, started on his journey as proposed with his servant, and a few days brought the parties to St. Louis, where the negro was at once arrested by his owner, put in jail, and sold to Gwin & Alexander, traders at Vicksburg, for $900, who sold the negro to me for $1,200, without disclosing any of the foregoing facts. When I learned these from the gentleman who knew the boy in St. Louis, I asked the negro boy about the story, and he told me it was all true—that he would have disclosed the case to me, but his owners had previously told him if he ever disclosed the matter to any one, they would whip him to death.

This negro *may* prove to be a valuable servant; but I think there ought to be some law in our State (if there be not already one) to punish the traders who impose upon us in this way. The late excitement in Missouri upon the emancipation question, will cause thousands of the worst portion of the negroes from that State, to be sold to us down South here; and I think a publication of the facts of this case will make the public more vigilant in buying negroes brought here for sale from that State. I am yours, truly.

—*From the Vicksburg True Southron.*

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### MARRIED.

MENDENHALL—TAYLOR.—On the 23d of Ninth month last, by the order of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends, at Florence, Nebraska Territory, Aaron Mendenhall, of Chester County, Pa., to Ellie H. Taylor, formerly of the same County.

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### NOTICE TO DONORS.

WE take the liberty of reminding those who have unpaid pledges to the American Anti-Slavery Society that their payment at this time would be exceedingly welcome, as funds are greatly needed. The financial pressure bears as hard upon us as upon other people, while our resources are fewer, and the Society is compelled, therefore, even more unreservedly than usual, to throw itself upon the generosity of its friends. It solicits not merely the payment of pledges already made, but new donations.

Funds may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston, or S. H. GAY, New York, according to the convenience of location.

A. K. FOSTER, who is acting as the financial agent of the Society, and is now travelling in the West, is also authorized to receive Pledges or Donations.

In this connection it is proper also to urge upon subscribers to this paper a prompt payment, where they have not already been met, of bills recently issued. Remittances should be made, wherever it is possible, either in coin, post-office orders, or New York city bank bills, and should be sent to this office.

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### AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*Receipts for Standard from Sept. 1 to October 1, 1857.*
(Corrected from last week.)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 885 | Dr. D. Hughes, Hampton, Ct. | $ 2 00 |
| 936 | Dr. Joseph Sargent, Worcester, Mass. | 2 00 |
| 936 | Edmund Jackson, Boston, " | 11 00 |
| 954 | Rev. Stephen Barker, Leominster, " | 2 00 |
| 840 | Mrs. M. M. Brookes, Concord, " | 2 00 |
| 951 | S. Lasar, N. Y. City | 2 00 |
| 942 | C. G. Judson, " | 2 00 |
| 935 | Theodore T. Ovington, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 2 00 |

DONATIONS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Francis Donaldson, Bristol, Eng. (corrected), | $25 00 |
| Mrs. Eliza Lee Follen, Brookline, Mass. (pledge) | 25 00 |
| Francis Jackson, Boston, " " " | 200 00 |
| Charles Follen, " " " | 13 00 |
| Miss S. C. Cabot, " " " | 12 00 |
| Charles Higginson, " " " | 5 00 |
| Thomas Bigwood, Otawa Wis. (through A. K. Foster) | 5 00 |
| B. G. Wright, Rock Island, Ill., " " | 5 00 |
| Friends in Portsmouth, N. H. | 30 00 |
| Samuel May, Jr. Leicester, Mass., to redeem pledge | 25 00 |
| Friend, by Samuel May, Jr. | 57 |
| Nancy Lovell Howes, Barnstable, Mass. | 2 50 |
| Rev. Frederick Frothingham, Portland, Me. | 5 00 |

*Donations for the Tract Fund.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Friend in Portland, Me., for Rev. F. Frothingham's Tract, | $21 00 |
| Josiah Fuller, Kingston, Mass. | 50 |
| Jesse Derpau, Acton, " | 75 |
| Wm H. Gray, South Acton, " | 75 |
| R. J. Hinton, Lawrence, Kansas | 3 00 |

*Collections for Tract Fund, by Mrs. F. H. Drake.*

| | |
|---|---|
| J. P. Kettelle, Worcester, Mass. | $1 00 |
| Alonzo Wood, 2d, Feltonville | 1 00 |
| T. P. Stone, Bolton | 12 |

J. F. D. Garfield, Fitchburg, 50 cts.; T. S. Blood, 25 cts.; Betsey Fenno, Westminster, 10 cts.; Roxa Raymond, 25 cts.; Sarah H. Whitman, 25 cts.; Joel Merriam, 1.00; H. G. Whitney, 50 cts.; Rev. Marcus Ames, 50 cts.; S. G. Kendall, 50 cts.; Abbie Forbush, 25 cts.; Mary Ann Farnsworth, 25cts.; S. J. Dunn, 25 cts.; Georgiana Rice, 25 cts.
Friend, Fitzwilliam, N. H., 10 cts.; A. S. Kendall, 1.00; Dexter Whittemore, 1.00; Friend, 10 cts.; Dr. S. Cummings, 50 cts.; Lewis Taft, 25 cts.
Samuel Woodward, Keene, 50 cts., Two Friends, 35 cts.; Wm. Stowits, 25 cts.; Ephraim Foster, 25 cts.
Rev. G. G. Bailey, Claremont, 25 cts.; Susan Austin, 23 cts.; T. J. Harris, 40 cts.; Deacon Moses Wheeler, 1.00; Samuel Greely, 25 cts.; Rev. Warren F. Evans, 50 cts.
Friend, Haverhill, 16 cts. FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

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## Special Notices.

☞ ABBY KELLEY FOSTER'S Post-Office will be Salem, Columbiana County, Ohio, till further notice.

☞ THE PHILADELPHIA FAIR CIRCLE will meet at Gulielma Jones's, No. 827 Race street, at 7 o'clock, p. m., Wednesday, 21st of October.

☞ TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY: The care of the fugitives who may stop at Syracuse for comfort and assistance having been devolved upon me by the Fugitive Aid Society, I hereby give notice that I shall devote myself assiduously to the duties I have undertaken to discharge. I must depend for the support of my family, and of the operations I am to conduct, upon the liberality of the friends of freedom. I shall gratefully receive money, clothes and provisions. I will make a faithful use of the same, and will report, semi-annually (in *Frederick Douglass's Paper* and the Syracuse *Standard* and *Journal*), the amounts that I have received, and of the numbers of fugitives that I have sheltered and have found homes for. Meanwhile, and at all times, my accounts will be open for the inspection of any friends of the cause. J. W. LOGUEN.
Syracuse, September 17, 1857.

☞ NEW YORK ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.—The undersigned, a Committee of THE NEW YORK FAIR ASSOCIATION, formed within the last year in this city, announce that their FIRST ANNUAL FAIR will be held during the second week of December next. The Committee solicit the aid of the friends of the anti-slavery cause here and elsewhere.

The appeal is confidently made to the women of this State, among whom there is, no doubt, a general feeling that the time has come for an effort of this kind; and that New York, the largest and wealthiest city in the country, should no longer, in this respect, be behind Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Worcester and other places, which have for many years contributed largely to the support and efficiency of the cause.

The members of the Association are firmly persuaded that the growing conviction of the terrible importance of the Slavery Question, which has signalized the North for the last few years, has had a corresponding increase even in a city so bound up as this is in its commercial relations with the slave-holding States; and their faith is strong that an enterprise such as they contemplate will be responded to by all the intelligent and sincere portion of the community, who profess an interest in the anti-slavery enterprise.

They believe that the moral regeneration of the North is the only basis on which a successful anti-slavery movement can rest. To accomplish this has been and is the great purpose of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The proceeds of the Fair, therefore, with the exception of a limited sum devoted to a local purpose, will be given to the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be used in furtherance of the general purposes of the cause.

The Committee urge the formation of Sewing Circles for the manufacture of articles for sale, or, where that is impracticable, individual effort for the same end; also donations of money, which, if speedily forwarded, can be put into goods which will sell at a large profit. They will be glad to receive from persons residing in the country any kind of saleable produce, of the first quality, that they may be able to send.

Further particulars as to time of holding the Fair and forwarding the goods will be published hereafter.

Letters may be addressed to ELIZABETH GAY, Secretary, or to either of the undersigned Committee of Management, at the Anti-Slavery Office, 138 Nassau street.

| | |
|---|---|
| A. H. Gibbons, | Maria R. de Peyster, |
| Elizabeth Gay, | C. C. Frothingham, |
| Rachel W. Baker, | Harriet M. Palmer, |
| R. D. W. Hopper, | Henrietta W. Johnson, |
| Sarah B. Shaw, | Mary A. W. Johnson, |
| Louisa W. Lord, | Jane A. Adams, |

☞ TWENTY-SECOND PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.—This Fair will be held in the City of Philadelphia, on the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th days of December, 1857. The object and mode of operation of American Anti-Slavery Fairs are so well-known that an explanation of them, in the columns of an anti-slavery journal, is unnecessary. The purpose of this Circular is to remind our coadjutors that the time has come for vigorous effort in the work of preparation for our next Fair. The need of money for carrying on our enterprise is increasing, for the methods by which it may be efficaciously used are multiplying themselves in every department of our labour. The signs of the times are promising of most glorious success to the patient and persevering worker. They whose faith needed to be confirmed by sight now see the results of twenty-five years of agitation of the subject of slavery in this nation. The North is aroused, alarmed, indignant; and from the South come startling testimony to the character of its "peculiar institution," and earnest protests against its unutterable corruption and its unmitigated evil. Now is the time for the labours of the uncompromising Abolitionists to insure a rich harvest. They who have laboured long and faithfully in the arduous work of our Anti-Slavery Fairs will, we trust, unite with us in our efforts to make our Fair of 1857 all the cause demands it should be.

Any contributions of money or merchantable commodities will be thankfully accepted by the Committee, and donations may be sent to the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia, or to any member of the Committee.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sarah Pugh, | Maria Conklin, |
| Sarah L. Child, | Sarah Pierce, |
| Lucretia Mott, | Emily W. Taylor, |
| Rebecca S. Hart, | Rebecca Plumly, |
| Huldah Justice, | Elizabeth Carman, |
| Evelina Supplee, | Mary A. Hall, |
| Mary Shaw, | Susan W. Shaw, |
| Emma Parker, | Anna M. Child, |
| Martha Carman, | Elizabeth Clendennon, |
| Hannah L. Stickney, | Martha Kimber, |
| Mary T. Stickney, | Abby Kimber, |
| Margaretta Forten, | Sarah Kenderdine, |
| Gulielma M. Jones, | Elizabeth M. Davis, |
| Lydia White, | Martha A. Galvin, |
| Margaret J. Burleigh, | Margaret A. Griscom, |
| Mary Grew, | Rosanna Thompson, |
| Elizabeth I. Lewis, | Anna Shoemaker, |
| Sarah A. McKim, | Lydia Gillingham, |
| Harriet D. Purvis, | Caroline Wise, |
| Clementina R. John, | Marian Jane Mitchel, |
| Anna M. Hopper, | Elizabeth Magee, |
| Maria M. Davis, | Mary M. Jeanings, |
| Janette Jackson, | Rachel Wilson. |

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THE TWENTY-FOURTH

### NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

THE undersigned again call on all interested in their cause—the cause of Freedom, so deeply important, not only to the three millions of American slaves, but to the American nation and to entire humanity—for immediate aid, by contributions of money and materials, and by purchase at the next Bazaar; to be opened in Boston,

ON THE 17TH OF DECEMBER.

Contributions of money at the present time will enable members of the Committee now in Europe to add to the attractions of the exhibition, still further, and, in consequence, to increase the funds, which are to be expended, as heretofore, by the American Anti-Slavery Society, in awakening the whole country, through its newspapers, books and various agencies, to the necessity of extinguishing slavery.

Our principle is too well known to need more than a mere statement. It is, immediate, unconditional emancipation, without expatriation, and by peaceful means. From a growing conviction of the justice and necessity of this work, for the good and honour of all concerned, every measure possible to be taken will inevitably spring without delay. Our funds, therefore, will be devoted to the primary work of arousing and engaging the public mind; which, as fast as it awakens, never fails to find a way to work its will—through Church action, by agitation and withdrawal—by State action, through the customary political channels, or by the profounder policy of creating others—by legislative and judicial changes—by individual efforts in the manumission of slaves and the protection of fugitives—by economical measures prompted by the greater advantages of free labour—by humane feelings creating a preference for its products.

What we ask of the citizens around us, just awakening to some one or other of the manifold aspects of this great question, is, to enable us to continue the use of the means that have proved so efficacious in their own case, and to sustain the primary cause of whatever Anti-Slavery effects they observe and desire to promote.

Let those who labour for an Anti-Slavery National and State administration, furnish voters with the only sufficient motive to any Anti-Slavery effort, by working with us, so to excite the love of liberty, that every man shall take the risk of trampling down slavery wherever it meets him.

Let them that pity the hunted fugitive, who sees in every Northern man a betrayer, bound to that base function by the great organic law of his country, take the means most effectual to turn the betrayer into the protector, by helping us everywhere to awaken a stronger sentiment than compassion for the millions who cannot fly: of whose case it was too truly said by a New England poet of the earlier time, before school-books were expurgated by slavery—

"Their wrongs compassion cannot speak."

Let all take warning to co-operate with us, from those earlier days when slavery, nstead of dying out, as was prophesied, began to grow stronger, because there was then no such fountain head of moral power as we commend to the attention of the whole land to-day.

We do not make this appeal in a sectional spirit as Northern-born, interfering with matters that not concern us. We make it in grateful acknowledgment of the benefits we have received from the anti-slavery cause, desiring to communicate them to others. We have all been connected personally with the system of slavery. One has known the evil power of its money temptations; another has felt its political despotism; another its perverting social influence; another its corrupting ecclesiastical bondage; another yet has been identified by Southern birth and education with the slaveholders, and sustained the legal relation of ownership to the slave; while not unfrequently among our most efficient members have been the wives of slaves, driven from us by the operation of laws from which we cannot protect them, and which make us liable to ruinous fine and crushing imprisonment, as they have done on associates erewhile. But we all, with one accord, testify to the truth of the anti-slavery principles, and entreat the aid of all whom this appeal reaches, to deliver the country from such a despotism, by their promulgation.

☞ "THE LIBERTY BELL" will be published as usual; and we entreat all our friends who have heretofore aided us by literary or pecuniary contributions, to let us hear from them once again, *as speedily as possible.*

☞ Our friends in Europe will not fail to take notice that the Bazaar is to open *a week earlier than usual.*

Contributions may be addressed to Mrs. CHAPMAN, 21 Cornhill, Boston, or to the other members of the Committee at their respective homes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Maria Weston Chapman, | Mary Gray Chapman, |
| Mary May, | Elizabeth Gay, |
| Abby Kelley Foster, | Henrietta Sargent, |
| Louisa Loring, | Sarah Russell May, |
| L. Maria Child, | Mattie Griffith, |
| Eliza Lee Follen, | Caroline Weston, |
| Anne Warren Weston, | Susan C. Cabot, |
| Ann Greene Phillips, | Mary H. Jackson, |
| Sarah Shaw Russell, | Sarah Blake Shaw, |
| Frances Mary Robbins, | Lydia D Parker, |
| Helen E. Garrison, | Eliza F. Eddy, |
| Ann Rebecca Bramhall, | Evelina A. S. Smith, |
| Sarah H. Southwick, | Elizabeth Von Arnim, |
| Mary Willey, | Augusta King, |
| Abby Francis, | Eliza H. Apthorp, |
| Anna Shaw Greene, | Justine de Peyster Hovey. |

☞ PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The Twenty-First Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Horticultural Hall at West Chester, on Friday and Saturday, the 23d and 24th of October.

The circumstances of time and place under which this meeting is to be held—the state of the country—the position of parties—the attitude of the Slave Power—the relation thereto of Pennsylvania, through the Federal Executive—all combine to give to this Convention an interest above that which usually attaches to our annual State gatherings.

A full attendance of the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania and parts adjacent is desired and expected; and a cordial invitation is hereby given to the friends of the cause throughout the country to join us in our deliberations and aid us by their presence and counsel. J. M. MCKIM, *Cor. Sec.*

☞ ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.—SUSAN B. ANTHONY and AARON M POWELL, Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings in Chatauque County as follows:

Conventions at Linesville, Pa., Saturday and Sunday, 17th and 18th; Painsville, Ohio, Saturday and Sunday, 24th and 25th; to be attended by Wm. W. Brown, A. M. Powell and S. B. Anthony.

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## Advertisements.


GEORGE P. EDGAR
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DRUG AND GENERAL COMMISSION MERCHANT,
174 and 176 Pearl street,
NEW YORK.


STATE OF NEW YORK, SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
ALBANY, August 31, 1857.

TO the SHERIFF of the COUNTY of NEW YORK.
SIR: Notice is hereby given that at the General Election to be held in the State, on the Tuesday succeeding the first Monday of November next, the following officers are to be elected, to wit:
A Secretary of State, in the place of Joel T. Headley;
A Comptroller, in the place of Lorenzo Burrows;
An Attorney-General, in the place of Stephen R. Cushing;
A State Engineer and Surveyor, in the place of Silas Seymour;
A State Treasurer, in the place of Stephen Clark;
A Canal Commissioner, in the place of Henry Fitzhugh;
An Inspector of State Prisons, in the place of Norwood Bowne;
A Judge of the Court of Appeals in the place of Hiram Denio;
All whose terms of service will expire on the last day of December next.
Also, two Justices of the Supreme Court for the First Judicial District, in the place of William Mitchell, whose term expires December 31, 1857, and one in place of Charles A. Peabody, appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of James R. Whiting.
Two Justices of the Superior Court, in the places of Joseph S. Bosworth and Thomas J. Oakley, deceased.
A Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, in the place of Daniel P. Ingraham.
A Justice of the Marine Court, in place of Florence M'Carthy.
Also, a Senator for the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Senate Districts, consisting of the City and County of New York.
A Member of Assembly for each of the Assembly Districts in the City and County of New York, viz.: The First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Assembly District.
A Surrogate, in place of Alexander W. Bradford.
A Recorder, in place of James M. Smith.
A District-Attorney, in place of A. Oakey Hall.
And a Register, in place of John J. Doane.
All whose terms of office will expire on the last day of December next. Yours, respectfully,
J. T. HEADLEY, Secretary of State.

SHERIFF'S OFFICE, New York, Sept. 8, 1857.
The above is published pursuant to the notice of the Secretary of State, and the requirement of the statute in such case made and provided. JAMES C. WILLETT,
Sheriff of the City and County of New York.
All the public newspapers in the county will publish the above once in each week until the election, and then hand in their bills for advertising the same, so that they may be laid before the Board of Supervisors, and passed for payment. See Revised Statutes, vol. 1, chap. 6, title 3, article 3d, part 1st, page 140.


J. MORTIMER HALL, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA
(Room No. 1, Empire Block)
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MAKE LOANS, INVESTMENTS, COLLECTIONS, PAY TAXES, &c.
Investments made, either on Joint Account or Commission.
Money for Remittance may be deposited with J. M. HALL & CO. 20 Cedar street, New York, when more convenient to do so.
REFERENCES—Duncan, Sherman & Co., Morris Ketchum, Hanover Bank, New York; George Peabody & Co., London; John B. Hartwell, Esq., Blackstone Canal Bank, Providence, R. I.; Jacob S. Rogers, Esq., Edwin T. Prall, Esq., Paterson; Munroe & Co., Paris; Wilder & Clarke, New Bedford; Hay & McDevitt, Philadelphia; D. C. Taylor & Co., Alexander Wilkin, Saint Paul. 13t

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BANKERS AND BROKERS,
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Money received on deposit, payable on demand, and interest allowed.
For parties desiring it, we will make investments in such securities as in our judgment will be safest and most productive.
All business entrusted to our care will receive prompt and faithful attention. LUDLOW PATTON,
A. B. HUTCHINSON.
Refer to Union, Broadway and Ocean Banks, New York; Geo. P. Bissell & Co., Hartford, Ct.; Hon. John M. Wood, Portland, Me.; Samuel Farwell, Utica, N. Y. 1y

EAGLESWOOD SCHOOL.—Address THEODORE D. WELD, Principal, Perth Amboy, New Jersey.
Circulars, at C. Shepard & Co.'s, 152 Fulton street, and at Fowler & Wells, 308 Broadway, New York.

# Miscellaneous Department.

## DOUGLAS JERROLD.

Death has taken from among us a man of vast and peculiar force. Heroes dwarf in the eyes of their valets; distance lends enchantment to the view; but Douglas Jerrold was the greatest marvel to those who knew him best. His reading was wide, and his memory for what he read prodigious. He knew the whole of Shakspeare by heart, and every noble line or beautiful image in Faust and the Inferno slept within his lips like the charge in a gun. He delighted in Eddas and Zendavestas, in the lore of the Rabbis, in science and in the mysteries of the schoolmen. Lightfoot was familiar to him as Rabelais and Montaigne, Bacon as Fuller and Donne. Yet the powers which made his fame were native. He was most widely known perhaps by his wit; for wit catches the sense like a torch in a ravine, even though the gold mines may lie unnoticed close by. Prophets who bear torches through the streets will draw a crowd sooner than those who teach the wisdom of Solomon. And his wit was very nimble, crackling, and original. No man could resist its spontaneity and sparkle, and it wrote its daily story in London life as a thing apart and institutional. But his wit, however brilliant, was not his finest gift. Indeed, in his serious moments, he would laugh at his own repartees as tricks—as a mere habit of mind—which he could teach any dull fellow in two lessons! His wit made only one side of his genius—sprung indeed from a central characteristic—the extraordinary rapidity of his apprehension. He saw into the hearts of things. He perceived analogies invisible to other men. These analogies sometimes made him merry, sometimes indignant. And as he never hung fire, dull people often saw his wrath before they understood his reason; and they blamed him, not in truth because he was wrong, but because they were slow.

Jerrold was born in London on the 3d of January, 1803, while Bonaparte was at Boulogne and London was in the riot of anticipated invasion. He was christened Douglas William Jerrold, Douglas having been the maiden name of his grandmother. His father, Samuel Jerrold, was manager of the two theatres of Sheerness and Southend, and in these sea-places much of his childhood passed, in sight of ships, breakers, press-gangs, theatrical stars, female and male, black-eyed damsels, and prisoners of war. He was the son of his father's old age, and he held a theory that the children of old men are always nervous, facile, and short-lived. Few friends or playmates of his own age came near him in the theatre or in the town; indeed, he used to say the only boy he knew familiarly at Sheerness was the little buoy at the Nore. Among the theatrical folks who played on his father's stage he remembered Edmund Kean with peculiar vividness; for the descendant of Halifax pleased him by carrying him on the boards in *Rolla*, and still more by his whimsicalities in the pantomime. He appeared also on the stage with Kean as the *Stranger's* child. Author and actor came together afterwards at Drury Lane—in Jerrold's early London life; Kean, who remembered Jerrold, gave him orders and oranges, and Jerrold paid him in admiration and epigrams. Long years of theatrical success—some quarrels and misunderstandings—never cooled the ardour with which the author of "Clovernook" always spoke of the great artist who had been gentle to him when a boy.

Jerrold's school-days were few and the results of his studies at Sheerness unimportant. He used to say, with a merry melancholy, that the only prize he carried home from school was a prize ringworm. In all ways, he was considered a dull boy; at nine years of age he could scarcely read. Breakers were the books which he liked to study. Frigates rolling past the Nore, and the grand tramp of war in Belgium, where Bonaparte was staking his last card, drew his imagination towards the sea—conquering, for a time, even his passion for oil-lamps, property men, and the hot applause of the family theatre. To sea he would go and fight the French—entering His Majesty's service as a midshipman on board the Namur. Middies in those days had not learnt to drink claret, smoke cigars, and quote Keats; and the mess-room was anything but a cross between a boudoir in Park Lane and a hole in a Cyder Cellar. The life was rough, the usage hard, the dissipation slight. Sea life was then a passion—it is now only a sentiment. Something of Nelson's genius has passed into the navy—inextinguishable hate of the French. Jerrold caught this fury—natural enough to a boy born in the panic of invasion and trained in a war-port; and to his last year there remained in his writing and in his conversation pulse—so to say—a breath—a suspicion—now taking a literary, now a social, now a political form—of that stern religion of the English in 1804. Though he afterwards lived in France for years, educated his children there, and spoke its language with the readiness of a practised jester, he never seemed to forget his blue cap and gold band, but rattled among the fish-wives of Boulogne and the flower-girls of Paris with the benignant vivacity of a middy just stepped ashore. His commander, Capt. Austen, brother of the great novelist, was fond of theatricals, and the officers got up private plays. A man before the mast painted the scenery and Jerrold superintended the stage. That man before the mast was Stanfield, our incomparable marine artist. When Jerrold was transferred to another ship they parted company—to meet again after long years on the stage of Drury Lane, when Stanfield was painting scenery for "The Rent Day." Out of these youthful recollections arose, we believe, that series of amateur theatricals which introduced the extraordinary histrionic genius of Mr. Dickens and Mr. Mark Lemon to the public, which secured honourable means to two veteran authors, and made the charm of so many London seasons. A party of friends were walking over Richmond Park, chatting of other days, when Jerrold cries—"Let's have a play, Stanfield, like we had on board the Namur." Mr. Dickens took up the tale and was acclaimed manager; "Every Man in his Humour" was selected, the parts were cast, and the row began.

After a few months Jerrold returned to shore, and came to London in search of fortune. He found it in a printer's office, in a court leading from Salisbury Square; to the proprietors of which he was bound 'prentice. Working steadily, and in process of time a master in the mechanism of his craft, he nevertheless only considered this employment as a means to something higher. At this time, though the hours of labour were long, and there were no compositors' reading-rooms for leisure moments, he attacked Latin and Italian; rose at three in the morning to construe Virgil and Livy, and passed stormy hours with grammarians and glossaries before he commenced work with the heavy leaders and light sketches of the periodical press—the productions of people enjoying fame and pay for writings in which his quick eye detected the weak points and the faded splendours. He began to scribble verse as soon as he learned to write; and his sonnets, epigrams, and songs appeared in the sixpenny magazines of the day. He was then a mere boy, and looked, indeed, like a child. An American writer, one of those gentlemen from over sea who print Citizen of the World on their cards and invent pen-and-ink portraits of celebrities they have never spoken with, once described him as a tiny man who walked up the Strand fumbling his thunderbolts. Tiny he was: and before his fine fell of hair grisled into a lion's mane, he seemed almost infantine in the delicate mould of his face and the exquisite beauty of his expression. Emboldened by success, he wrote for the stage, to which he felt a family call, and produced clouds of pieces ere he was twenty—some of which still keep the stage, like "More Frightened than Hurt," performed at Sadler's Wells. He engaged with Davidge, then manager of the Coburg, to produce pieces at a salary; and some of his plays at this time, hastily composed, and as he thought unworthy of his powers, appeared under the name of Mr. Henry Brownrig. In consequence of quarrels he went from the Coburg Theatre to the Surrey, with "Black-Eyed Susan" in his hand. He had brought from the quarter-deck of the Namur a love of the sea and a knowledge of the service, which he turned to account on the stage and in his general writings. Salt air sweeps through these latter like a breeze and a perfume. "Black-Eyed Susan," the most successful of his naval plays, was written when he was scarcely twenty years old—a piece which made the fortune of the Surrey Theatre—restored Elliston from a long course of disastrous mismanagement—and gave honour and independence to T. P. Cooke. Indeed, no dramatic work of ancient or modern days ever reached the success of this play. It was performed, without break, for hundreds of nights. All London went over the water, and Cooke became a personage in society, as Garrick had been in the days of Goodman's Fields. Covent Garden borrowed the play, and engaged the actor, for an afterpiece. A hackney cab carried the triumphant William, in his blue jacket and white trousers, from the Obelisk to Bow Street; and Mayfair maidens wept over the strong situations and laughed over the searching dialogue which had moved an hour before the tears and merriment of the Borough. On the 300th night of representation the walls of the theatre were illuminated, and vast multitudes filled the thoroughfares. When subsequently reproduced at Drury Lane it kept off ruin for a time even from that magnificent misfortune. Actors and managers throughout the country reaped a golden harvest. Testimonials were got up for Elliston and for Cooke on the glory of its success. But Jerrold's share of the gain was slight: about $70 of the many thousands which it realized for the management. With unapproachable meanness, Elliston abstained from presenting the youthful writer with the value of a toothpick; and Elliston's biographer, with a kindred sense of poetic justice, while chaunting the praises of Elliston for producing "Black-Eyed Susan," forgets to say who wrote the play! When the Drama had run 300 nights, Elliston said to Jerrold, with amusing coolness, "My dear boy, why don't you get your friends to present you with a bit of plate?"

Many dramas, comic and serious, followed this first success—all shining with points and colours. Among these were "Nell Gwynn," "The Schoolfellows," and "The Housekeeper." Drury Lane opened its exclusive doors to an author who had made fortune and fame for Elliston and Cooke. But Mr. Osbaldiston, who only timidly perceived the range and sweep of the youthful genius which he wooed to his green-room, proposed the adaptation of a French piece, offering to pay handsomely for the labour. Adapt a French piece! The Volunteer rose within him, and he turned on his heel with a snort. Drury Lane was then in the hands of the French, freshly captured, and the boy who had gone to sea in order to fight Napoleon refused to serve in London under his literary marshals. He returned to the theatre after awhile with his "Bride of Ludgate," the first of many ventures and many successes on the same boards. "The Mutiny at the Nore" had followed the first nautical success, and his minor pieces on the Surrey side continued to run long and gloriously. But the patent theatres, with a monopoly of the five-act drama, were strongly garrisoned by the French, aided by native troops whom they had raised—and some of whom, such as Poole and Planché, were men of great technical skill and facile talent; and he never felt his feet secure in either theatre until the production of his "Rent Day"—a play suggested and elaborated from Wilkie's pictures. Wilkie sent him a hand some letter and a pair of proof engravings with his autograph. The public paid him still more amply.

A selection from the early writings for the stage, made by himself, has been published in the Collected Edition of his works. But many were unjustly condemned, and among those rejected plays the curious seeker will find some of the most sterling literary gold. His wit was so prodigal, and he prized it so little, save as a delight to others, that he threw it away like dust, never caring for the bright children of his brain, and smiling with complacent kindness at people who repeated to him his jests—as their own! At the least demur, too, he would surrender his most happy allusions and his most trenchant hits. In one of his plays an old sailor, trying to snatch a kiss from a pretty girl—as old sailors will—got a box on the ear. "There," exclaimed Blue-jacket, "like my luck; always wrecked on the coral reefs!" The manager, when the play was read in the green-room, could not see the fun, and Jerrold struck it out. A friend made a captious remark on a very characteristic touch in a manuscript comedy—and the touch went out: a cynical dog in a wrangle with his much better-half said to her, "My notion of a wife of forty is that a man should be able to change her, like a bank-note, for two twenties."

The best part of many years of his life was given up freely to these threatrical tasks—for his genius was dramatic—his family belonged to the stage—and his own pulpit, as he thought, stood behind the foot-lights. His father, his mother and his two sisters all adorned the stage; his sisters, older than himself, had married two managers—one the late Mr. Hammond, an eccentric humorist and unsuccessful manager of Drury Lane—the other, Mr. Copeland, of the Liverpool Theatre Royal. He himself for a moment retrod the stage, playing in his own exquisite drama, "The Painter of Ghent." But the effort of mechanical repetition wearied a brain so fertile in invention; and he happily returned to literature and journalism, only to reappear as an actor in the plays performed by the amateurs at St. James's Theatre and Devonshire House.

After this time appeared, in succession, the greatest and maturest of his comedies. In "The Prisoner of War," in parts cast for them, the two Keeleys harvested their highest comic honours. "Bubbles of a Day" followed—the most electric and witty play in the English language; a play without story, scenery or character, but which, by mere power of dialogue, by flash, swirl and corruscation of fancy, charmed one of the most intellectual audiences ever gathered in the Haymarket. Then came "Time Works Wonders," remarkable as being one of the few works in which the dramatist paid much attention to story. "The Catspaw," produced at the Haymarket—"St. Cupid," an exquisite cabinet piece, first produced at Windsor Castle, and afterwards at the Princess's Theatre, with Mrs. Kean in *Dorothy*, one of the most dainty and tender assumptions of this charming artist—and the "Heart of Gold," also produced by Mr. Kean, complete the series of his later works. We are glad to announce, however, that the dramatist has left behind a finished five-act comedy, with the title of "The Spendthrift," for which the managements should be making early inquiries.

Contemporaneously, he had worked his way into notice as a prose writer of a very brilliant and original type—chiefly through the periodicals. His passion was periodicity—the power of being able to throw his emotions daily or weekly into the common reservoirs of thought. Silence was to him a pain like hunger. He must talk—act upon men—briefly, rapidly, irresistibly. For many years he brooded over the thought of *Punch*. He even found a publisher—and a wood-engraver—and a suitable *Punch* appeared—but the publisher was less rich in funds than he in epigrams, and, after five or six numbers, the bantling died. Some time later, his son-in-law, Mr. Mayhew, revived the thought, and our merry companion—now of world-wide name—appeared. All the chief writings of our author—except "A Man Made of Money"—saw the light in magazines, and were written with the devil at the door. "Men of Character" appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*; "The Chronicles of Clovernook" in the *Illuminated Magazine*, of which he was founder and editor; "St. Giles and St. James" in the *Shilling Magazine*, of which he was also founder and editor; and the "Story of a Feather," "Punch's Letters to his Son," and the "Caudle Lectures," in *Punch*. The exquisite gallery of Fireside Saints, which appear in *Punch's Almanac* for the present year, is from his hand. Most of these works bear the magazine mark upon them—the broad arrow of their origin; but the magazine brand in this case, like the brands of famous vintages, if testifying to certain accidents of carriage, attests also the vigour and richness of the soil from which they come. "Clovernook" is less perfect as a work of art than many a book born and forgotten since the Hermit fed on dainty viands and discoursed of sweet philosophy. Some of his essays contributed at an early time to the *Athenæum* and to *Blackwood's Magazine* rank amongst the most subtle and delicate productions of his muse. But we have recently devoted a long article to the consideration of his literary merits, and need not repeat in this obituary what we have said before with greater leisure and more calmness than we can now command.

For seven years past he had devoted himself more exclusively than before to politics. Politics, indeed, had always attracted him as they attract the strong and the susceptible. In the dear old days when Leigh Hunt was sunning himself in Horsemonger Lane for calling George the Fourth a fat Adonis of forty, and the like crimes, he composed a political work—in a spirit which would probably in those days have sent him to Newgate. The book was printed, but the publishers lacked courage, and it was only to be had in secret. Only a few copies are extant. Of late years he had returned to politics, as a writer for the *Ballot* under Mr. Wakley, and as sub-editor of the *Examiner* under Mr. Fonblanque; returned to find his opinions popular in the country and triumphant in the House of Commons. Of his efforts as a journalist, we need not speak. He found *Lloyd's Newspaper*, as it were in the street, and he annexed it to literature. He found it comparatively low in rank, and he spread it abroad on the wings of his genius, until its circulation became a marvel of the press.

We have neither time nor heart at this moment to draw the portrait of the deceased. An ample biography will not long be wanting: in which those who knew and loved him—and those who knew him best loved him most—will be able to paint him as the index and interpretation of his work. Yet even at a glance, the depth of his insight, the subtlety of his analysis, the vividness of his presentation must strike every one who reads. His place among the wits of our own time is clear enough. He had less frolic than Theodore Hook, less elaborate humour than Sydney Smith, less quibble and quaintness than Thomas Hood. But he surpassed all these in intellectual flash and strength. His wit was all steel points—and his talk was like squadrons of lancers in evolution. Not one pun we have heard is to be found in his writings. His wit stood nearer to poetic fancy than to broad humour. The exquisite confusion of his tipsy gentleman, who, after scraping the door for an hour with his latch-key, leans back and exclaims, "By Jove! some scoundrel has stolen—stolen—the keyhole!" comes as near farce as any of his illustrations. His celebrated definition of Dogmatism as "Puppyism come to maturity," looks like a happy pun—but is something far more deep and philosophic. Between this, however, and such fancies as his description of Australia—"A land so fat, that if you tickle it with a straw, it laughs with a harvest"—the distance is not great. In his earlier time, before age and success had mellowed him to his best, he was sometimes accused of ill-nature, a charge which he vehemently resented, and which seemed only ludicrous to those privileged with his friendship. To folly, pretence and assumption he gave no quarter, though in fair fight; and some of those who tried lances with him long remembered his home thrust. We may give two instances without offence, for the combatants are all gone from the scene. One of those playwrights who occupied Old Drury, under the French, against whom he waged ceaseless war of epigram, was describing himself as suffering from fever of the brain. "Courage, my good fellow," says Jerrold, "there is no foundation for the fact." When the flight of Guizot and Louis Philippe from Paris was the fresh talk of London, a writer of no great parts was abusing the Revolution and pitying Guizot. "You see," he observed, "Guizot and I are both historians—we row in the same boat." "Aye, aye," says Jerrold, "but not with the same sculls." Yet such personal encounters were but the play of the panther. No man ever used such powers with greater gentleness. Indeed, to speak the plain truth, his fault as a man—if it be a fault—was a too great tenderness of heart. He never could say No. His purse—when he had a purse—was at every man's service, as were also his time, his pen, and his influence in the world. If he possessed a shilling, somebody would get sixpence of it from him. He had a lending look, of which many took advantage. The first time he ever saw Tom Dibden, that worthy gentleman and song-writer said to him—"Youngster, have you sufficient confidence in me to lend me a guinea?" "Oh, yes," said the Author of "Black-Eyed Susan," "I have all the confidence, but I haven't the guinea." A generosity which knew no limit—not even the limit at his banker's—led him into trials from which a colder man would have easily escaped. To give all that he possessed to relieve a brother from immediate trouble was nothing; he as willingly mortgaged his future for a friend as another man would bestow his advice or his blessing. And yet this man was accused of ill-nature! If every one who received a kindness at his hands should lay a flower on his tomb, a mountain of roses would rise on the last resting-place of Douglas Jerrold.—*London Athenæum.*

## HOW TITUS MANLIUS MACAULEIUS WAS MADE A PATRICIAN.

A LAY OF ANCIENT ROME.

The Consul Palmerstonius
Hath ta'en down his Debrett,
And o'er his storied pages
His anxious brow is set.
Those are not age's wrinkles
The Consul's cheek that plough,
It is not time that sprinkles
That snow upon his brow.

The wrinkles are such wrinkles
As a Consul should display:
"Up to a wrinkle" meaning
Up to the time of day.
And if the grey hairs mattered,
Their presence 'twould explain
To call them snow-flakes scattered
To cool that hot young brain.

The Consul closed the volume—
He closed it with a bang!
And he seized his slate and pencil
From the wall where they did hang;
And straight he set to ciphering,
And out a sum he brought;
And his sum was of six figures,
And it ended with a nought.

Then gaily tripped the Consul
To the Ærarium straight,
And before Cornelius Levius
He thrust the scribbled slate.
"Check thou, Cornelius Levius,
These figures all and each;
All figures at thy finger-ends,
Hast thou, save those of speech."

Dry and a-dust, sat Levius,
Scanty of words and slack:
And he proved the Consul's figures,
And the slate he gave him back.
"Now, read off the sum total,"
And Levius read it through—
From left to right, not right to left—
Nought, two, eight, six, and two!

So the united ages
Of the Patricians stood,
When Consul Palmerstonius
Vowed they must have new blood.
"What though your *novi homines*
Do not always wax in wit:
Oft *Patricius*, like *Poeta*,
Proves "*nascitur non fit.*"

"Besides, as after physic
The matron gives her child
A crust of blandest honey,
To make the bitter mild;
So I, for the Patricians,
A pleasant peer must find,
To take away the savour
Wens'dalius left behind.

"*Patres majorum gentium*,
*Patres minorum*, too,
Your seats upon those benches
To sources strange are due:
The fruit of royal bye-blows,
The growths of courtier-slime,
The brawny sons of rapine,
The heirs of reckless crime.

"The sword hath dibbled often
Holes for patrician seed;
And many a lawyer's tongue hath licked
All shoes, and oft unfee'd,
No stooping found too lowly,
No crawling thought too mean,
If but a Conscript Father
He might at last be seen.

"The Sword, the Tongue, the Purse have there
Their representing men—
Remains one tool of greatness
Unhonoured there—the Pen.
The consulship of Plancus
An era still we see:
Why should not Palmerstonius
Be notable as he?

"I'll raise to the Patricians,
One who ne'er wore steel, nor lied,
Whose weapon was his goose-quill,
Whose pleadings were world-wide;
Whose foes were Falsehood, Prejudice,
Fraud, Sophistry, and Wrong—
With which he held wit-combat,
Wit-combat, brave and long!

"So, when that Palmerstonius
Hath gone where all must go—
E'en those whose brains glow fiery
'Neath coronals of snow.
Write by the Appian way-side,
On the tomb where he is laid,
'Of Manlius Macauleius
He a Patrician made.'" —*Punch.*

## THE INVENTION OF THE STEAMBOAT.

From "Life of John Fitch."

In the month of April, 1785, upon a Sunday, John Fitch was walking in "the street road," near Neshamony, in Bucks County, in company with James Ogilbee. They had been at a religious meeting, at which the Rev. Mr. Irwin preached, and they were now returing home slowly. A rheumatism, contracted no doubt during his recent surveying tours in the Ohio country, had stiffened the limbs of Fitch, and his progress was somewhat difficult. Whilst he was limping along, a gentleman, Mr. Sinton, and his wife, who were seated in a "chair," drawn by a noble horse, passed them at a rapid pace. The circumstance was not uncommon, but just at that moment the progress of those travellers was so much more rapid than the pace of the pedestrians, that the circumstance set one of the latter to thinking. Mr. Fitch thought it would be a great thing to have a means of conveyance without keeping a horse. He considered within himself, whether it might not be possible to find some force which would accomplish this important end. The expansive qualities of steam seem to have been observed by him before that time, and the idea of a steam engine presented itself to his fancy as an efficient method of propelling carriages upon land. At this time, he avers, he was altogether ignorant that a steam engine had ever been invented. Full of enthusiasm with the idea, when he reached home he proceeded to make drafts of a steam land carriage. He worked diligently at this thought for about a week, but doubtless soon became disheartened when he reflected upon the roughness of the common road in America—the plan of a railway not having presented itself to his imagination.

His own quaint account of the consequences of that discovery is curious. He says:

"I was so unfortunate in the month of April, 1785, as to have an idea that a carriage might be carried by the force of steam along the roads. I pursued that idea about one week, and gave it over as impracticable, or, in other words, turned my thoughts to vessels, which appeared to me that it might be applied to advantage on the water. From that time I have pursued the Idea to this day, with unremitted assiduity, yet do frankly confess that it has been the most imprudent scheme that ever I engaged in. The mechanism has been the grandest, altho executed upon a small scale, that was ever executed by mortal man, altho it does not make the grand appearance that it would in a first-rate man-of-war. The difficulties have been infinitely greater, as in a small boat we are confined to room and weight, therefore the works are much more noble than if we had carried one thousand tons one hundred miles in a day. And to reflect on the disproportion of a man of my abilities to such a task, I am apt to charge myself with being deranged at the time of my engagement in it, and had I not the most convincing proofs to the contrary, that I have now by me, I most certainly should suppose myself to be *non compos mentus* at that time.

"But on examining over my papers, I find that there was 46 capital, and many of them principal characters, for philosophy and machanism, that gave me their opinions that the scheme was rational. I may add to them the Committee of the Assembly of Virginia of 7 members, of Maryland 5, of Pennsylvania 3, and to that number 27 that have engaged and advanced money on it, which are generally men of the first character—in all 90—that has testified either by Certificate or otherwise, that I absolutely was in my senses at the time.

"Yet, notwithstanding all this, I should have doubted both them and myself, had not the God of Nature testified the same. What I call Lunecy, is a train of deranged, unconnected ideas. It is well known that a steam engine is a complicated machine, and to make that and connect it with the works for propelling a boat, must take a long train of Ideas, and them all connected, and no one part of them disjointed; for the Laws of God are so positive that the greatest favourite of Heaven would not succeed contrary to the fixed laws of Nature, no sooner than the most profain sinner.

"I have now made use of a long train of reasoning to prove that I was not a *Lunitic*, and doubt not but that my reasons will convince the world in general that I was not. Yet, notwithstanding the infaliable evidences which I have produced, it does not bring full conviction with me; for had I the abilities of *Cissarce*, it ought to be esteemed madness in me to have undertaken it in my state of penury. Had I been a nobleman of £3,000 per year, it would barely justify my conduct, than as the world from the evidence which I have produced are obliged to justify my conduct. I, on the other hand, have a right to declare myself a Madman, and I think I can prove this on the following principles:

"As I know of nothing so perplexing and vexatious to a man of fealings as a turbulant Wife and Steamboat building. I experienced the former, and quit in season, and had I been in my right senses, I should undoubtedly treated the latter in the same manner; but for one man to be teised with Both, he must be looked on as the most unfortunate man of the world. Therefore I find I must leave the World and myself as much in the dark as ever about my interlects, and inform them how I proceeded."

Discouraged by the difficulty of completing land carriages, Fitch turned his attention to the perfecting of some method of propelling vessels upon the water. He immediately set to work with ardour to perfect the draft of a boat to be moved by steam, and after two or three weeks he took his drawing to his friend, the Rev. Mr. Irwin, of Neshamony. The latter had in his library "Martin's Philosophy," in which was a description of a steam engine. "Although it was not to my credit," confesses Fitch, frankly, "I did not know that there was a steam engine on earth, when I proposed to gain a force by steam; and he adds, that upon being shown the drawing at Mr. Irwin's, he was "very much chagrined." But upon reflection this knowledge strengthened his resolution, now being assured that the machinery would not fail of propulsion, if he could gain force.

The first and most obvious course was to try by experiment to obtain a proper method of propulsion, by which the vessel could be moved by the active power. In casting about for the best means, paddle-wheels, similar to those afterwards used by Fulton, seem to have suggested themselves. Mr. Longstreth says:

"It was in this log-shop (Cobe Scout's) that Fitch made his model steamboat, with paddle-wheels as they are now used.

"The model was tried on a small stream on Joseph Longstreth's meadow, about half a mile from Davisville, in Southampton township, and it realized every expectation. The machinery was made of brass, with the exception of the *paddle-wheels*, which were made of wood, by Nathaniel B. Boileau, whilst on a visit during vacation from Princeton College."

## *HAVE LIVE FROGS AND TOADS EVER BEEN FOUND IN SOLID STONE?*

An opinion has long been prevalent, that frogs and toads have often been found alive in solid rock at a great depth from the surface of the earth. The statements of many popular writers on natural history have tended very much to confirm this opinion. They have detailed a number of apparently well-attested instances of this kind, and declared that, however improbable they might appear to be, they could not resist the creditable evidence by which they were supported. Paragraphs are constantly occurring in the newspapers, recording fresh instances of this phenomenon; and even so late as the 20th of July last, two cases were inserted in the *Dumfries Courier*—the one of a frog of an extraordinary size having been found at Ingluton coal-works, at the depth of 368 feet; and the other of a toad, dug from solid stone, 80 feet from the surface, within a tunnel then in the course of formation in the neighbourhood of Bangor. The nature of the animals themselves seems also to favour this belief. It is well known that they remain in a state of torpidity during the winter, and that they are capable of living a long period without either food or air. The consequence has been, that people in general seem to give implicit credence to every statement on this subject, and are no more disposed to call it in question than to discredit the best established physical or historical fact. Now, with all due deference to the general opinion and the great names by which it is supported, it may be confidently asserted, that there are good grounds for regarding it altogether as a gross popular delusion. In order to prove this assertion, let attention be first paid to the nature of the evidence, on the authority of which, instances of this supposed phenomenon have been published to the world. Most of the cases detailed by natural historians are said to have occurred in foreign countries, and at a remote period; and therefore it is quite impossible now to verify them, and it is even no easy matter to ascertain the particulars of those recorded in newspapers. Very rarely are these accounts vouched for by the name of any responsible person who has been an eye-witness of the alleged fact, and of whom due inquiries might be made. In general, the designation of some obscure quarry or coal-pit is only given, the exact locality of which it is difficult to discover. Great pains have, however, been taken by not a few scientific men to arrive at a correct conclusion on this subject, and the result has been a thorough conviction on their minds, that the whole of the recorded cases of this extraordinary phenomenon are utterly fallacious and unfounded.

In illustration of this, reference may be briefly made to two or three cases which were subjected to a searching investigation by a gentleman of Edinburgh. About three years ago, a paragraph appeared in the *Scotsman* newspaper, affirming that a live toad had been found imbedded in the limestone of Burdiehouse Quarry, situated about four miles south of the Scottish metropolis. This gentleman went instantly to the spot, and inquired of the workmen if they had recently discovered a live toad in the limestone. They answered that they had neither found it nor seen it themselves, but they had been told that a mass of limestone had fallen from a cart while proceeding along Nicolson street, Edinburgh; and that a live toad had been found among the fragments on the ground. No cavity, so far as they had heard, had been seen in which the animal had been inclosed, and they were inclined to think with the gentleman, that the existence of a live toad in a piece of stone that had been subjected to the intense heat of a lime-kiln, was the height of absurdity and improbability. There can be no doubt that the animal had either been previously in the cart and overturned by the fall of the piece of limestone, or had been crawling on the ground near the spot on which the limestone fell.

The next case to which his attention was called, was detailed in a Stirling newspaper. It was there reported that, during the formation of the railway tunnel at Falkirk, a live toad had been found in the stone, of a species different from any now existing. He immediately repaired to the spot, accompanied by twelve other scientific gentlemen. The workmen were strictly interrogated, when it came out that, in conducting their operations, a large quantity of diluvium had been disengaged from the surface, and had rushed from the excavation below. On clearing away the rubbish, a live toad was found, which, at the time the mass was precipitated, was no doubt either crawling on the ground, or snugly ensconced in some of its concealed haunts near the surface. The party returned to Edinburgh, thoroughly convinced that in this case, at least, a gross imposition had been attempted on the credulity of the public. The same gentleman, when on a visit to Huddersfield, in England, a few years ago, was one day waited on by a young friend of his, the son of an extensive landed proprietor in the neighbourhood of that town, who apprised him of the wonderful fact, that some labourers in a quarry belonging to his father had discovered a frog at a great depth in the solid rock. On the Edinburgh gentleman expressing some doubt of this fact, the young man said that the truth of it was not to be questioned, as the workmen were persons of excellent character, and their veracity was not to be impeached; and he stated further, that he had drawn up an account of the discovery, which he intended to publish in a Huddersfield newspaper. The gentleman from Edinburgh requested his friend, previous to his doing so, to accompany him to the quarry, that he might put a few questions to the workmen. They accordingly proceeded thither, and inquired of the labourers if they had seen the frog in the stone. They declared that they had not, but that they had seen it leap away from a piece of stone which had been newly broken. They were then asked if they had preserved the stone in which the animal was found. They replied that it had been broken and removed, as they took very little interest in the matter, and had their work to attend to. After these and some further inquiries, the young gentleman declared that he was now satisfied that the whole affair was a delusion, and he at once abandoned the idea of giving it any further publicity. Now, had all the other cases of this sort been as carefully scrutinized as those now alluded to, there is little cause to doubt that they would all have been found to be equally deceptive and unreal.

But further, to say nothing of the utter improbability of an animal living for thousands, some say millions, of years without air or food, do the discoveries of geology afford any countenance to the common belief of the existence of frogs and toads in solid stone? The very reverse of this is the case. The disclosures of geology may be regarded as the strongest and most conclusive evidence against it, and are amply sufficient, were there nothing else to overturn the popular doctrine, and set the question for ever at rest. It is the common report, that these animals are frequently discovered in the carboniferous system. For instance, one of the paragraphs inserted in the *Dumfries Courier* asserts that several frogs had recently been discovered in the coal-works at Ingletan, 368 feet below the surface. Now, it is a fact known to every geologist, that not a single specimen of a fossil frog or toad has ever been found in the coal measures. When so many live frogs are found, it is but reasonable to expect that skeletons of these animals would not be uncommon. But how stands the case? While impressions of various kinds of plants and fishes are abundant, both in carboniferous sandstone and limestone, not a single vestige of the remains of a frog or toad has yet been discovered. The fact is, that after the keen and unwearied investigations of geologists for half a century, it has been ascertained that the first trace of an animal supposed to belong to the lizard kind, occurs in the new red sandstone, which is entirely a different and a much later formation. In the lias and oolite, still more recent formations, impressions of lizards are more distinctly observed, but none of them are similar to the species of animals which inhabit our globe at the present day, and least of all to any species of the frog or toad. Upon the whole, then, the conclusion is warranted, that the cases hitherto published of frogs and toads existing in solid stone, are founded on false and imperfect evidence, and are utterly at variance with the most indubitable facts of physiological and geological science.—*Hogg's Instructor.*

Mixed Races in Spanish America—The Beauties of Amalgamation.—Dr. Tschudi, a distinguished German naturalist, has recently published his "Travels in Peru," a work of great interest and value, in which, among other matters of curious information, he gives a list of the crosses resulting from the intermixture of the Spanish with the Indian and negro races of that country.

The settlement of Mexico by the Spaniards took place at the same time, and the intermixture of races has been perhaps greater in that country than in Peru. The Mexican soldiers are said to present the most unequal characters that can be met with anywhere in the world. Some are brave, and many others quite the reverse, and possessing the basest and most barbarous qualities. This, doubtless, is the result in part of the crossings of the race.

The following is Tschudi's list of the crossing in Peru:

White father and negro mother—Mulatto.
White father and Indian mother—Mestizo.
Indian father and negro mother—Chino.
White father and mulatto mother—Cauterou.
White father and chino mother—Chino Blanco.
White father and cuasterena mother—Quintero.
White father and quintero mother—White.
Negro father and Indian mother—Zambo.
Negro father and mulatto mother—Zambo negro.
Negro father and mestizo mother—Mulatto-oscura.
Negro father and chino mother—Zambo chino.
Negro father and zambo mother—Zambo negro, perfectly black.
Negro father and quintero mother—Mulatto, rather dark.
Indian father and mulatto mother—China-oscura.
Indian father and mestizo mother—Mestizo-claro, frequently very beautiful.
Indian father and chino mother—Chino-oscura.
Indian father and zambo mother—Zambo claro.
Indian father and chino-cholar mother—Indian with frizzly hair.
Indian father with quintero mother—Mestizo, rather brown.
Mulatto father and zambo mother—Zambo, a miserable race.
Mulatto father and mestiza mother—Chino, rather clear complexion.
Mulatto father and chino mother—Chino, rather dark.

The effect of such intermixture upon the character is thus stated by Dr. Tschudi: "To define their characteristics correctly would be impossible, for their minds partake of the mixture of their blood. As a general rule it may be fairly said that they unite in themselves all the faults without any of the virtues of their progenitors; as men they are generally inferior to the pure race, and as members of society they are the worst class of citizens."

## Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

When the late Duke of Wellington went to Oxford as Chancellor, he was very much puzzled when they told him he was to make a Latin speech at the inauguration. In this dilemma he applied to his physician, as most likely from his prescriptions to know Latin, and he made a speech, which answered very well. "I believe," said the duke, "it was a very good speech, but I did not know much of the matter."

——Queer Diet for Old Gentlemen.—"The first time I caught sight of milk in a Chinese street, it was in the hands of a female carrying a cup of what I thought to be the genuine unchalked article. 'Excuse me, but what is that?' said I. 'It is milk,' she replied. 'What milk—cow's or goat's?' 'Woman's milk, sir.' 'Woman's milk! for what use?' 'It has been bought for an aged neighbour.' 'And what's the price of that cupful?' 'About eighty cash.' Subsequently I discovered that it was not unusual for nursing women to sell their own milk for motherless babes or octogenarians in second babyhood, the nurses drawing their own milk to vend it at 2d. or 3d. a cup.—*Milne's Life in China.*

——Slaves in Naples.—The King of Naples, emulous of the French Emperor, has been doing a little bit of trade in the slave line at Alexandria. According to the *Presse d'Orient*, the Neapolitan consul there lately purchased forty negroes to send into Europe, for a pious purpose, as he said. Slavery being pretty nearly abolished in Egypt, the authorities thought it odd that a high Christian functionary should have made this purchase of man's flesh, and opposed the departure of the negroes. After a good deal of negotiation, however, the Viceroy consented to their being shipped off this time, but upon the understanding that no more traffic of this sort would be allowed.

——One of Henry Fox's jokes was that played off on the late Mrs. ——, who had a great fondness for making the acquaintance of foreigners. He first forged a letter of recommendation to her in favour of a German nobleman, the Baron von *Seidlitz Powderz*, whose card was left at her door, and for whom a dinner was immediately planned by Mrs. ——, and an invitation sent in form. After waiting a considerable time, no baron appearing, the dinner was served; and during the second course a note was brought to the lady of the house, with excuses from the baron, who was unexpectedly prevented from coming by the sudden death of his aunt, the Duchess *von Epsom Saltz*, which she read out to the company without any suspicion of the joke, and to the entertainment of her guests, among whom was the facetious author.

——The late Dr. Badham was an entusiastic collector of British mushrooms, and maintained, in a cleverly-written book, that we have more than thirty good eatable species of this "important and savoury food, which, from ignorance or prejudice, are left to perish ungathered." "I have witnessed whole hundred-weights of rich wholesome diet," says the author, in the glow of his enthusiasm, "rotting on the trees, woods teeming with food, and not a hand to gather it, in the midst of potato blight, poverty and all manner of privations. I have, indeed, grieved over the straightened condition of the lower orders to see pounds innumerable of extempore beef-steaks growing on our oaks."

——"Literature," says the *Illustrated London News*, "is not represented in the House. What has Mr. Disraeli done for literature since he quitted chambers in Duke street, St. James's, and took to parliamentary life? Has his voice ever been heard on any one subject connected with the calling by which his father's name is known and he himself will be best remembered? Has he ever said one word touching that miserable pittance of twelve hundred pounds a year which the influence of Parliament thinks more than ample for the sustenance of literature, art, science and a long &c., which would have puzzled Cowley to put into either prose or verse? Then there is Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton: what has he done for literature in the House since his Baronetcy? Then there is Mr. Samuel Warren: has he ever said a word on behalf of authorship?"

——The Light of Nature.—David Hume had frequent discussions with his friend, Dr. J——, on the subject of religion; the one maintaining the sufficiency of the light of nature to all practical purposes, the other insisting on the necessity of revelation. One evening, after a long argument on the subject, at Dr. J——'s, Hume rose to take leave. The doctor begged that he would wait a single moment, for a candle to let him see the way down stairs. "No," said the philosopher, "there is light enough still remaining." He began to grope down the staircase, when unluckily putting his foot into a tub